DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 194 667 UD 021 005

AUTHOR	Ham, Clifford C.
TITLE	Public Administration, Public Accountability. Modules 1-10, Package XII.
INSTITUTION	Pittsburgh Univ., Pa.
SPONS AGENCY	Department of Housing and Urban Development, Washington, D.C. Office of Policy Development and Research.; National Training and Development Service for State and Local Government, Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE	Jun 77
NOTE	378p.; For related documents see UD 020 926-937 and UD 021 002-009
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC16 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	*Accountability; *Citizen Participation; *Decentralization; Inservice Education; Local Government; *Management Development; Postsecondary Education; Professional Continuing Education; Public Administration Education; Public Officials; *Urban Areas; Workshops

ABSTRACT

This study guide comprises a portion of the National Training and Development Service Urban Management Curriculum Development Project. The ten modules included in this package examine the concept of accountability as it applies to public officials. The first module introduces the concept. Modules Two and Three discuss citizen participation and decentralization policies. Modules Four through Eight center on skills and strategies which public officials can use to maintain contact with citizens and to improve accountability. Module Nine presents techniques for evaluating accountability, level of participation, and the effectiveness of decentralization. Module Ten discusses some principles of administration related to citizen participation and decentralization. (Author/MK)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED194667

OCT 3 - 1980

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

PUBLIC ACCOUNTABILITY

MODULES 1-10

Developed by

UNIVERSITY EXTERNAL STUDIES PROGRAM

UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH

Clifford C. Ham, Principal Developer

Under Contract to

THE URBAN MANAGEMENT CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT PROJECT
THE NATIONAL TRAINING AND DEVELOPMENT SERVICE
5028 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20016

Funded by

The Office of the Assistant Secretary for Policy Development and Research, U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development

UD021005

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

U(2

Package XII

This Study Guide has been written with considerable assistance from personnel of the University External Studies Program, especially curriculum specialist Charley Lyons. His perceptive and challenging comments have markedly improved this Guide. Also, the professional reviewers: Ardelle Hopson, Joseph Farrell, Marshall Bond, and Doris Gow helped establish the objectives and gave many valuable insights. The first class to be exposed to the course, in Winter 1977, were properly critical and helpful in testing the material and providing illustrations.

Clifford Ham
June, 1977

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION 816: PUBLIC ACCOUNTABILITY

COURSE GUIDE

INTRODUCTION

This course will examine the concept of accountability as applicable to public officials. Citizen participation and decentralization are discussed as two policies and methods which can be used to enhance public accountability. The course surveys five skills which public officials can use to maintain contact with citizens and to improve accountability. Citizens also can use these skills in organizing their areas, neighborhoods, or communities. Some techniques are presented to enable citizens and officials to evaluate accountability, the level of participation, and the effectiveness of decentralization. The last module focuses on the role of public officials in administering programs of participation and decentralization with the ultimate objective of improving accountability.

This course is intended to help students to establish a practical perspective from which to consider the following issues as well as to develop some proficiency in the skills needed to address them:

- offering a middle position between the two extremes of (1) total government provision of services with little required accountability and (2) mainly individual provision of services with accountability to self but lacking social provision of needed services.
- demonstrating accountability through involvement with citizens.
- meeting the requirements for citizen participation or public involvement in federally funded programs.
- easing the difficulty of policy-making decisions.
- reducing the burden of decision-making by decentralization and reassigning responsibilities.
- establishing better relations in the community.
- improving delivery of service.
- strengthening the communication process.
- avoiding citizen protests and disruptions of government.

Since this course is general and provides an exploration of the concept of accountability including approaches, strategies, tactics, and skills related to achieving accountability, it would be useful as part of the pre- or in-service preparation for individuals interested in public service careers. Given its practical orientation, this course would be well suited to public administrators who are concerned with more clearly defining their position regarding accountability and with identifying and developing appropriate skills. This course would also have interest to citizens concerned with or actively participating in public policy decision-making and implementation.

COURSE ORGANIZATION

This course is divided into ten modules of study plus an Epilogue which cover the following topics:

1. Accountability: The concept of accountability is introduced and then discussed within the context of twentieth century urban America. The question of to whom an official is accountable is addressed. Finally, citizen participation and decentralization are identified as possible means for assuring public accountability.
2. Citizen Participation: Effective citizen participation is presented as one way in which officials can demonstrate their accountability. Strategies which groups of individuals may employ to achieve citizen participation are described. Different types of citizen groups are then identified and related to the kinds of strategies they are likely to use.
3. Decentralization: Decentralization is discussed as another way of achieving accountability on the part of public officials; it is also related to the concept of citizen participation. Theoretical and practical justifications for decentralization are reviewed. Several forms of decentralization are discussed and specific instances of them as they occur in many American cities are overviewed.
4. Knowing Your Community: Several meanings for the concept of community are suggested before outlining the kinds of facts about a community that are needed by public officials and representative questions that officials may ask. Listening is identified as a key skill in finding out about a community. The importance of knowing the leadership of a community is stressed and several techniques for determining the leaders are explored.
5. Communicating for Accountability: The importance of good communications is related to the concept of accountability. Communication is described as a two-way process involving four essential elements: sender, message, receiver, and feedback. Several means of communicating which may be used by public officials are then discussed and considered in terms of their effectiveness as two-way communications.

6. Meeting Citizens Face-to-Face: Face-to-Face contacts between public officials and citizens are discussed as one of the most effective means which officials can use to demonstrate their concern for accountability. The need for face-to-face contacts is stressed in an increasingly impersonal world of large organizations. Some alternative strategies are suggested for public officials whose time and energy are already heavily taxed. Specific advice on hints are provided as guidelines to officials for meeting with citizens, and possible results of face-to-face contacts are suggested.

7. Meeting Citizens in Groups: Since public officials must often meet with more than just a few individuals (face-to-face contacts), it is necessary that they be prepared to meet with larger, organized groups of citizens. Various types of citizen groups are described, and some ways to effectively meet with them are examined.

8. Public Assemblies: Public hearings represent a formal and frequently required form of contact between officials and citizens. As such, public hearings are characterized as an important and often culminating step in the process of demonstrating accountability. Public meetings and public forums, which represent the middle and other end of the continuum, respectively, of organized public assemblies, are described. The purposes of each of these forms of public assemblies are explored, and guidelines for conducting them are suggested.

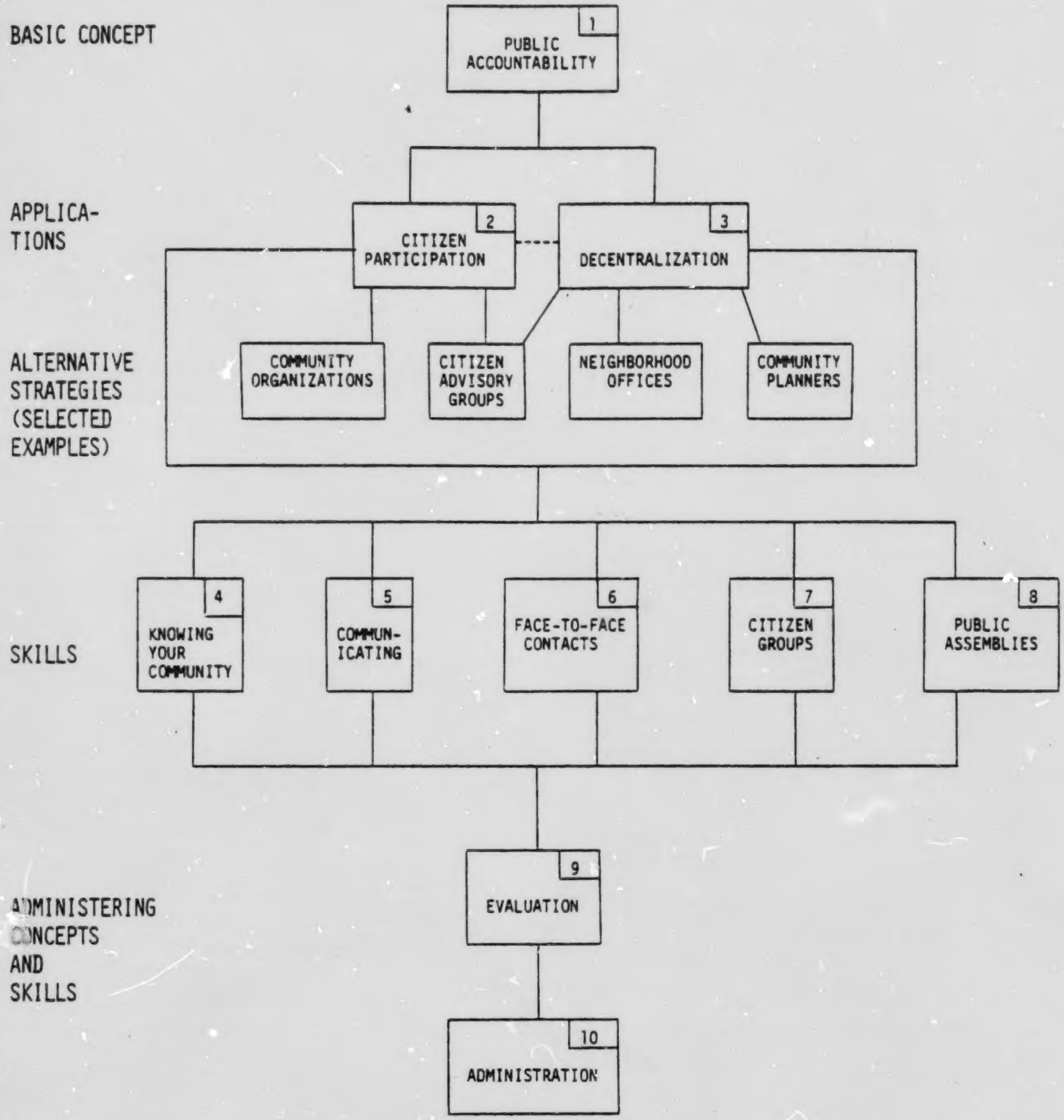
9. Evaluating Accountability, Participation and Decentralization: Levels of citizen involvement in public policy and decision-making are described as indicators of the extent to which public accountability has been realized. Means and criteria for assessing the accountability of officials are suggested and related to the levels of citizen involvement in citizen participation and decentralization efforts.

10. Administering for Accountability: The problem of the "efficiency" of centralized management versus the "delays and encumbrances" of decentralized management forms the context for this concluding module. But since the day of the citizen is here and the influence of the citizen must be accepted, means for managing decentralization and securing citizen participation must be examined. Suggestions are presented, therefore, to ease the conflict between geographical and functional concerns, to facilitate decision-making.

Epilogue: This brief summary of the major foci of the course attempts to re-establish the perspective for considering the materials in the preceding ten modules and to indicate some directions and concerns for further study and consideration.

A graphic display of these topics, the corresponding modules, and their interrelationships is presented in the following diagram.

CONCEPTUAL OUTLINE FOR PUBLIC ACCOUNTABILITY


BASIC CONCEPT
1
PUBLIC ACCOUNTABILITY
APPLICATIONS
2
CITIZEN PARTICIPATION
3
DECENTRALIZATION
ALTERNATIVE STRATEGIES (SELECTED EXAMPLES)
COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS
CITIZEN ADVISORY GROUPS
NEIGHBORHOOD OFFICES
COMMUNITY PLANNERS
SKILLS
4
KNOWING YOUR COMMUNITY
5
COMMUNICATING
6
FACE-TO-FACE CONTACTS
7
CITIZEN GROUPS
8
PUBLIC ASSEMBLIES
ADMINISTERING CONCEPTS AND SKILLS
9
EVALUATION
10
ADMINISTRATION

NOTE: Numbers in the small squares correspond to module numbers.

7

TEXTS

This Study Guide is the only required textbook for this course. However, in addition to this Study Guide, two supplemental publications are recommended. They are:

- Special Issue: Public Administration Review, Volume xxxii, "Curriculum Essays on Citizens, Politics, and Administration in Urban Neighborhoods." American Society for Public Administration, October, 1972.
- Zimmerman, Joseph F., The Federated City, St. Martin's Press, 1972.

WORKSHOPS

The initial workshop will present an overview of the course content, organization, and rationale. There will be an explanation of the objectives of the course and the expectations for student performance as well as some group activities designed to experientially introduce you to the issue of public accountability and which will assist in preparing you to begin your course of study. The subsequent workshops will continue to use both large and small group techniques, supplemented with selected audio-visual aids, to address concerns identified in the modules of the course and areas of student-identified difficulties.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS AND GRADING

There are no examinations or tests required. Your grade will be based on the Module Assignments which you send in to the instructor. Each Module Assignment will be given a letter grade and will be returned to you with detailed instructor comments. If you are not satisfied with your grade on any assignment, you will have the option of one resubmission for each Module Assignment. The Module Assignment for Module 10 (the final module) has been designed in such a way as to require that you synthesize most of the important concepts which have been developed throughout the course. The assignment for Module 10, therefore, will be weighted more heavily than the other Module Assignments. The relative weightings for each of the assignments will be as follows:

- Assignments for Module 10 equals one-third (1/3) of the course grade.
- Assignments for Modules 1 through 9 equal two-thirds (2/3) of the course grade.

STUDY SUGGESTIONS

The modules have been desgined for use by individual students without the direct supervision of a teacher as occurs in a traditional classroom setting. Provisions have been made for instructor feedback to students on their performance of each of the Module Assignments.

All modules share a number of common components and follow a similar plan.

1. Key Terms and Concepts: Terms which are considered important for studying and understanding the materials presented in the module are listed in a box in the beginning of each module.

2. Introduction: The beginning of each module briefly describes the topics and major concerns which will form the focus of the module.

3. Objectives: The Objectives provided explicit statements about the concepts and ideas which you are expected to master from your study of the module readings and questions. These Objectives define the content which will be tested in the Module Assignment.

4. Overview: This table is provided as a mechanism for assisting you in studying by pointing out which specific grouping of study questions and readings directly relate to respective module objectives. It is expected that by presenting a clear association between (a) several of the study questions that bear on a similar issue, (b) the readings which treat this issue, and (c) the specific module objective to which they contribute, you will have an operational means for attaining the module objectives.

5. Module Readings: A series of original essays have been written expressly for this course which introduce and explain the important concepts, skills, and methods dealt with in this course. Illustrations from personal experiences of the author and from other authorities are cited. Additional readings by other authors are included where appropriate to round out the presentation of the concepts and their applications.

6. Study Questions: After each section of the readings, a series of questions are presented to assist you in organizing and studying the information in the preceding section. Keep these questions in mind as you read thesection, then draft your answer. The Study Questions require knowledge of the readings and some originality in forming the answer.

7. Module Assignment: An original assignment which normally requires that you apply the information studied in the module is included at the end of each module. Each assignment has been prepared to encourage the thoughtful use of much of the module information. The final Module Assignment expects that you will integrate much of the information from all of the modules.

8. Selected Bibliography: A selection of readings which will supplement the module and which are generally easily obtainable is included with most modules. The list is not intended to be inclusive but rather to contain publications which the author considers to be significant to the topics discussed in the module.

PA 816
PUBLIC ACCOUNTABILITY

MODULE 1:
ACCOUNTABILITY

PREPARED
BY:
DR. CLIFFORD HAM

UNIVERSITY EXTERNAL STUDIES PROGRAM

Developed by the University External Studies Program and the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs, University of Pittsburgh. Under Contract to The Urban Management Curriculum Development Project, The National Training And Development Service, 5028 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20016. Funded by The Office of the Assistant Secretary for Policy Development and Research, U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development.

MODULE 1: ACCOUNTABILITY

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Title . . . . . Page

Key Terms and Concepts XII.1.1

Introduction XII.1.1

Learning Objectives XII.1.2

Overview XII.1.3

Module Readings

- A. What is Accountability? XII.1.5
- B. Why Accountability? XII.1.9
- C. A Theory of Justice and Accountability XII.1.13
- D. The People Are NOT the City XII.1.17
- E. San Francisco Bay--The "Magic of Concerned Citizen Action" XII.1.23

Footnotes XII.1.25

Module Assignment XII.1.26

Selected Bibliography XII.1.27

MODULE 1: ACCOUNTABILITY

TERMS AND CONCEPTS

- Public Accountability
- Citizen Participation
- Decentralization

INTRODUCTION

The concept of public accountability is introduced in this first module. The term is defined, explained, and then discussed in the context of twentieth century urban America. One important question proposed is: to whom is an official accountable?

A second section reviews changes in society which have brought about increasing demands for accountability. Several reasons for more emphasis on accountability are suggested and discussed; these include the change from direct democracy to representative government; technical developments with their own evaluative measures; the politics of protest and taxpayers' revolts; and the problems of urban governments, such as New York City.

A brief review of Rawls' A Theory of Justice[1] suggests a new basis for accountability.

Roger Starr[2] distinguishes among three uses of the term "people," and raises questions about public officials accountability to individuals but stresses obligations to "The People" collectively. This may be an argument against some types of "participatory democracy" and also against Rawls' theory of justice.

In a brief case study on the San Francisco Bay, which concludes the readings for this module, one can identify various kinds of public accountability. Some officials or agencies were obliging and accountable; but one may ask: were the officials so accountable before the citizens applied pressure?

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

When you have completed the readings and assignments for this module, you should be able to:

1. Define public accountability in your own words.
2. Explain to whom public officials are accountable.
3. Describe changes in society which have brought about increasing concern for accountability.
4. Tell how citizen participation and decentralization are means for assuring public accountability.
5. Explain the relationship between democracy and accountability.
6. Explain whether you agree or disagree with the theoretical justifications given for public accountability.
7. Give at least one example from your own experience of citizen action in demanding accountability. Analyze the officials' responses to the citizens' action, and suggest ways in which the officials were and/or could have been more accountable.

OVERVIEW

Objectives	Tasks	Resources	Evaluation
1. Define public accountability in your own words	Study Questions 1, and 2	Module Reading: A	Self
2. Explain to whom public officials are accountable.	Study Questions 3, 4, and 5	Module Reading: A Your own experience	Self
3. Describe changes in society which have brought about increasing concern for accountability.	Study Questions 6, and 7	Module Reading: A	Self
4. Tell how citizen participation and decentralization are means for assuming public accountability.	Study Questions 8, 9, and 10	Module Reading: B	Self
5. Explain the relationship between democracy and accountability.	Study Questions 11, 12, and 13	Module Reading: C	Self
6. Explain whether you agree or disagree with the theoretical justifications for public accountability.	Study Questions 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, and 20 (Review Study Questions 5-9)	Module Reading: C,D (Review Module Reading: B)	Self

Objectives	Tasks	Resources	Evaluation
7. Give at least one example from your own experience of citizen action in demanding accountability. Analyze the officials responses to the citizen action, and suggest ways in which the officials were and/or could have been more accountable.	Study Questions 21, 22, and 23 Unit Assignment.	Module Reading: E (Review other Module Readings.) Your own experience.	Self

A. WHAT IS ACCOUNTABILITY?

> *"Responsibility is the product of definite social arrangements."*
>
> *Charles Frankel*

Accountability is defined by one dictionary as "The quality or state of being accountable, liable or responsible."[3] Public officials are accountable in that they must explain to their constituency their actions and their reasons for taking these actions. They are liable, legally and morally, for omissions or commissions of duties entrusted to them. They are responsible in a larger sense; they have, in trust, the health, safety, and general welfare of the citizens in their charge. They are responsible, as well, for other resources: land, water, air, non-human resources, and more abstract assets, such as reputation, integrity, reasonable efficiency. All of these resources may be said to reside "in the public trust."

Public accountability must mean responsibility to all members of the society of the group represented. Certainly it is no longer appropriate (or just) to serve a small proportion of the populace. Too often decisions have been made in favor of the well-to-do. In almost any urban area, for example, most of us can cite examples of roads built or urban renewal projects planned and carried out largely for the benefit of upper income persons. Yet, many persons were relocated and suffered hardships because of these projects.

To be accountable is not an occasional event. Elected or appointed officials must be responsible for all their decisions and all of their actions. Infrequent elections are hardly satisfactory vehicles for determining accountability. New England town officials, for example, are continually in front of their fellow townspeople. Town meetings allow exposure and examination. Open public meetings are well attended. Frequent published reports further amplify decisions and actions. "Sunshine laws" (described below) are an attempt to accomplish by law what in small communities is a way-of-life.

Here are some other examples of officially created procedures, positions, and laws which are intended to be responsive to citizen needs for holding elected officials and administrators accountable. As Charles Frankel said:

"Responsibility [read accountability] is the product of definite social arrangements"; that is, citizens should institute defined procedures, laws, requirements which do more than hope for official accountability. These examples should help to clarify further the meaning of accountability.

- Audits, both financial and program review: accountants or other experts review financial accounts yearly or on special occasions. Increasingly audits also examine program effectiveness as well as the legality of expenditures.
- Recall and Impeachment: recall begins with citizen petitions calling for removal of an official from office. Impeachment generally begins with the legislative branch. Neither process has been much used.
- Civil Service Employment: officials and public employees are hired through the use of the "merit system" (examination, competition, established procedures) rather than by means of a "spoils system" patronage, political favoritism.
- Ombudsman: this is an official, often appointed for a long period of time, who investigates citizens' grievances against administrative abuse.
- Sunshine Laws: legislation is passed, usually at state level, that requires all public bodies to: announce public meetings well in advance; conduct meetings which are open to all members of the public; eliminate or restrict the use of "executive" sessions"; make public decisions and publish agendas, reports, minutes and other information responsive to "the citizens' right to know."
- Sunset Laws: legal requirements are established to ensure the periodic scrutiny of all public agencies, departments, and committees to determine their usefulness. Zero-based budgeting would accomplish a similar purpose.
- Elections: the ultimate test of an elected official's accountability or lack thereof is his or her ability to be returned to elective office.

Some other non-official means of holding officials accountable should also be briefly mentioned; namely,

- Press (i.e., newspapers and to a lesser extent, radio, television, and other media): the news media, among other services, frequently provides public exposure of scandals, administrative misbehavior, or other wrongs. The Watergate case is an excellent example of responsible investigative reporting by the press.

- Citizen Pressure: individuals or organized groups can insist on accountability of officials. If no satisfaction is received, citizens can use some of the official methods suggested in the preceding list, such as recall or complaining to an ombudsman. Ralph Nader and Common Cause are representatives of this approach.

Elected officials are not the only officials who are accountable. Many non-elected officials such as government civil servants make decisions, some of which are difficult to challenge. Even if the right of recall is available to remove incompetent or corrupt elected officials, it seldom is applicable to appointed persons, especially if they serve under Civil Service agreements. The use of the "ombudsman" provides one means of redressing the complaints of citizens or, in other words, holding officials "accountable".

Most public officials, we shall assume, really want to "do the right thing", to be accountable, to be "public servants." They want to provide services and to aid their constituents. But part of the problem in being accountable is knowing how to judge responses to their activities. Are the citizens pleased with services?...or they are they dissatisfied? Are the services actually reaching those intended?...or are only a limited number getting well-served?

Public officials must also properly ask: to whom am I accountable? There are many "publics" to be served and other groups which must be satisfied, examples of which include:

- State and Federal agencies/officials who supply funds, interpret legislation, oversee, and evaluate subsequent expenditure of funds;
- Private funding sources, e.g., foundations;
- Political influences, parties;
- The local administrative "hierarchy;"
- Business and labor (sometimes tightly organized and a strong pressure group; other times individuals, businesses, or unions);
- Citizens, organized or unorganized;
- Special interest groups of citizens (aged, youth, poor, minorities, etc.);
- The "media".

Accountability, while it relates to each of these groups, applies most of all to the citizenry. Only occasionally are citizens well-organized and powerful enough to demand their rights or get their desires fulfilled. Only a few groups, such as Common Cause or the Sierra Club, have enough "clout" to win battles once in a while. Yet, the concept of accountability should mean to officials that the needs or desires of citizens are taken care of, as far as possible, before the concerns of organized interest groups. Most of all, using the theory of justice concept, to be described next, no one should be hurt, no one should lose, in order that others benefit.

STUDY QUESTIONS

1. Define accountability, first, using a dictionary, then using the introduction, and finally in your own words.

2. Describe several official ways in which an official may be held accountable.

3. Why may it be difficult for a public official to be accountable to "the public"?

4. Out of your own experience, recount an example of public accountability on the part of a public official.

5. What are some important groups to whom a public official should be accountable?

B. WHY ACCOUNTABILITY?

Why discuss public accountability? Why are public officials concerned about accounting to citizens, on the one hand, and to other levels of government on the other? What indications are there that citizens are demanding accountability from officials?

Many examples demonstrate broad movements demanding increased public accountability:

> Federal revenue sharing concepts of "new federalism," the politics of protest, halting of large projects by citizen groups, widespread use of public opinion polls, reports of experiments in decentralization, demands for "sunshine laws," stricter regulations for elections and campaign spending, media exposures of instances of malfeasance or non-responsive government, increased government auditing and evaluation of services.

Underlying the Constitution and the practice of American government is a philosophical basis for widespread citizen participation in public affairs. As the country has grown, however, representative government has tended to replace direct decision-making. Thus, we have Congressmen, mayors, and City Councilmen making laws rather than citizens in town meetings. Early public officials were neighbors, people whom you met in town meetings and whom you expected to be accountable. As towns grew to become cities, officials became further removed from the "neighbor" relationship. Technical abilities and knowledge often substituted for personal acquaintance. Today a mayor or City Councilman may know very few citizens personally; appointed officials may be selected on merit and not even live in the city or town. Still these "strangers" are responsible for providing services to communities. Rather than individual citizens providing their own facilities or sources, they are dependent upon officials. The individual citizens must look to the official for "accountability."

The emphasis on technical skills, qualifications, and technology brings with it demands for efficiency and economy. One of the reasons for providing services publicly is efficiency or "cost effectiveness." With technology, generally, come measures of effectiveness. Strangely, by their own measures publicly-provided services are not always cheaper. As city size increases the cost of services increases even faster. Evaluation measures rarely demonstrate conclusively that services or programs meet their goals or serve the population intended. Paradoxically, the same technology which leads cities to provide a broad range of public services brings with it measures and evaluations which are critical of those services. Persons providing services for themselves will hardly be so critical.

There exists today the "politics of protest," a powerful force in American life protesting decisions of "the establishment," the powerlessness of the ordinary citizen, the threats of bigness and continued growth. Whether related to this protest movement or not, it is certainly true that there is "a crisis of confidence" in American institutions. The rank-and-file of U.S. citizens mistrust government from the White House to the local precinct captain, from national news media to the leaders of local organizations. Consumers question the ethics and the choices of manufacturers. Groups, especially minorities, women, youth, and the aged express dissatisfaction with their situation. This latter demand for accountability we label the "politics of protest."

Related to the "politics of protest" are taxpayers' revolts. Complaints about high rates of taxes, combined with dissatisfaction with services, have led to cost-cutting, economy moves, and, in a few cases, as in the city of Pittsburgh, actual tax cuts. Voters have recently rejected many bond issues for new facilities and services. Certainly much objection is raised about costs of welfare services, the mounting costs of education at all levels, and escalation of medical bills. Again the public is demanding accountability for the decisions and the actions of officials.

Perhaps the starkest example of demands for accountability is the New York City case. Many explanations for the fiscal dilemma of New York have been presented. Still, protesters from the President of the United States to the man-on-the-street demand accountability and careful spending on the part of New York City officials. And, as New York checks its own spending, so the course for other cities may be set.

It is in this context that a study of public accountability is appropriate. To meet the demands of citizens, the protests of groups, in a society which expects complex programs and projects to be carried out by government (rather than the more simple guardianship and "housekeeping" demands of the past), public officials increasingly look toward decentralization and citizen participation as means of demonstrating accountability. Officials use these approaches to keep in touch with citizens, to ascertain needs and desires, but also to account to them for their decisions, actions, or inaction. No longer can public officials operate in a closed backroom, indeed, if ever they could!

Citizen participation, which will be discussed more in Module 2, can be utilized to enable public officials to account to citizens. It helps officials establish interpersonal relations in the community. It may avoid citizen confrontation. Participation provides an indicator of citizen satisfaction with projects, services, and programs.

Decentralization, which will be discussed in Module 3, is a planned effort on the part of public officials to be responsive to the needs and concerns of citizens. As such, it is also a means for public officials to demonstrate accountability. Administrative decentralization puts some decisions and work projects or programs closer to the citizens. It allows direct communication among officials and citizens. Like participation it can measure and react to citizen satisfaction or dissatisfaction with municipal services.

6. Distinguish between the accountability of elected officials in a New England town and in many large cities.

7. What are some movements in society which illustrate increased demands for public accountability?

8. Briefly define "citizen participation" and "decentralization" as they are introduced in this module. (More discussion of these concepts will appear in subsequent modules).

9. Give some reasons why citizen participation may be related to accountability.

10. What can decentralization do to help public officials be more accountable?

C. A THEORY OF JUSTICE AND ACCOUNTABILITY

John Rawls argues[4] that the classical utilitarian basis for government and justice is inappropriate today. His basis for democratic government assumes that general improvement in "utility" or the total satisfaction of the citizens may not be just, especially if some members of society lose in the face of gain by the total society. Similarly, even if the "average utility" improves, or on an average all citizens gain in satisfactions, when some persons lose out the system is unfair.

Justice as fairness, on the other hand, assumes two premises as a base for a just society. First, every person is guaranteed basic rights and liberties; second, decisions must not jeopardize the social satisfactions of any person. If this results in loss to any person (unwillingly), the decision is unjust even if the social order were to benefit from a decision. One cannot help but think of decisions like highway construction where a few people are forced to relocate for the supposed benefit of the larger group. Decisions should be worked out so that everyone benefits, not just a majority.

The underpinnings for this theory of justice are intriguing. It assumes that there is a four stage sequence in establishing a social order. First, the "original position" demands that "no one know his place in society, his class position or social status, nor does anyone know his fortune in the distribution of natural assets and abilities, his intelligence, strength, and the like--the principles of justice are chosen behind a veil of ignorance."

On this basis no persons will select principles of governance which might potentially be harmful to them, or even which might be advantageous if they were in a favored role. Because these hypothetical persons do not know their status, because they are behind the "veil of ignorance," they can only opt for the most equitable principles. If persons do know their status, roles, options, they obviously will struggle for a framework which would benefit their status. Rawls, then, presumes that the basic principles of society can be developed--should be developed--as if all persons were completely unaware of their positions. All begin in an equal position.

Second, a convention is held based on the principles of equality to develop "the most effective just constitution." A little more knowledge of one's status is acceptable here. But a just process should lead to a just outcome and would be tested by the principles of justice.

Third, a legislative process develops after the "just constitution" has been prepared. And fourth, rules may be applied to particular cases after the veil of ignorance has been lifted, but also after the principles of justice are firmly embedded in the constitution and the laws.

Rawls clearly supports the concept of participation and assumes that citizens participate on a basis of equality. His writing provides justification for broadscale participation beyond many of the classical authorities. Rawls asserts that "social contracts" should be made under the veil of ignorance, not from unequal positions within society.

One of the principal tenets of "a theory of justice" is that no citizen should lose his or her benefits in the social order even if the rest of society should gain. There should be no loss for anyone, only an improvement for all. The reader may question if any change is possible given these constraints. Rawls, obviously, assumes change can take place.

All citizens are guaranteed a basis in equal liberties and rights. Beyond this there must be a fair distribution of other goods, rights, powers, and opportunities.

Rawls sees the obligation of public officials as protecting the rights of the individuals and ascertaining their needs. "The principle of participation compels those in authority to be responsive to the felt interests of the electorate." While representatives are necessary, and these representatives are not "mere agents of their constituents," they must attempt to improve the condition of their constituents and (presumably) never allow the social condition of their citizen clients to deteriorate.

Rawls makes clear that "all citizens are to have an equal right to take part in, and to determine the outcome of, the constitutional process that establishes the laws" which they must obey. Furthermore, citizens must approach the tribunals with approximate equality; it is not just if some citizens have more wealth, more abilities, more access to representatives than other citizens.

While encouraging both accountability by officials and participation of citizens, Rawls posits three limitations. First, majority rule is essential, under the preceding conditions. Therefore, a minority should not be allowed to frustrate the will of the majority. Again, though, the minority must retain its rights and not lose by any decision of the majority. Second, the one-person, one vote precept must not be violated. Each individual counts and equally with others. Third, unequal resources, must not be devoted to securing rights or privileges for individual citizens.

Participation, for Rawls, is not solely a means to an end. Such freedoms "strengthen men's sense of their own worth, enlarge their intellectual and moral sensibilities, and lay the basis for a sense of duty and obligation upon which the stability of just institutions depends."

What can we learn from Rawls? He suggests a new basis for determining justice. If any citizen loses social benefits the whole order suffers. The utilitarian principle of improved benefits for most or an average of the citizens no longer holds. Furthermore, Rawls states strongly that access to officials and representatives should be equal. Because one is rich or educated or powerful is no justification for greater control over decisions. Again, Rawls feels that participation on a just basis (and not necessarily implying that everyone participates in every issue) will strengthen both the individual citizens and society.

Accountability may be considered a key issue in Rawls. While he may not use the word as it is used in this course of study, the requirements of liability and responsibility for the good of all persons permeate his discussion. The good official will be concerned about the involvement of all persons, about their rights, and about their social satisfactions. The official cannot be complacent if some of the constituency suffers from a decision even if a majority will benefit. Few philosophers have ventured this far in accountability. Rawls has attracted many admirers, however; increasingly public officials may have to avoid projects like urban renewal or highway building through cities which hurt some citizens even though helping others. Pure justice may be hard to achieve, but Rawls is suggesting new principles to move us closer.

11. Name and describe the four stages suggested by Rawls in establishing a social order?

12. What two basic premises does Rawls present to achieve "justice as fairness"?

13. Differentiate between the "utility" theory and the theory of justice.

14. Suggest a particular decision or project from your own experience where Rawls' ideas could have altered the decision or its implementation. Tell how it could have affected the decision or project and/or what the public repercussions might have been.

15. How would you relate Rawls' theory of justice to the concept of accountability?

D. THE PEOPLE ARE NOT THE CITY

The following pages in this section represent a summary of and response to an address made to a conference of city planners in Phildelphia (1966) by Roger Starr, then Executive Director of the Citizens' Housing and Planning Council of New York.*

Starr speaks, in some respects, for those who repudiate the idea of "participatory democracy." Such critics would deny the necessity for government officials to pay special attention to the demands of individual citizens or organized groups. The city, suggests Starr, is comprised of many people and is larger, more complex, and more important than the individuals or groups which collectively make up the city. The accountable city officials, according to Starr, would consider the needs of all the people, in total, in order to carry out their tasks.

---

*Roger Starr, "The People Are Not the City," Planning 1966, September 1966, pp. 125-136.

In his cleverly written address Starr differentiates among three fundamental meanings of the word "people".

> I suggest that we should carefully distinguish between *a* people--the noun with the indefinite article--and *the* people--the very same noun, except that the indefinite article has been replaced by the definite article. Finally, there is the usage: people, without either article, and conveying a meaning different from both other uses.[5]

Pointing out that the use of the article seems to be a "tiny" difference, Starr suggests that the differences are really significant.

> Let us take the uses of the word one by one. The noun with the indefinite article, "A People," means a group or generality of human beings who share one or more common attributes. This usage is dying out today, having the flavor of the Fourth of July orator; it is appropriate to the mood in which one unveils a statue. I find it difficult to write a sentence in which "A People" is followed by anything but "who." We are *a people* who believe in the inevitability of progress--we are *a people* who believe that all men are created equal. In the fog of generality that follows "A People" wherever they go, individual faces and figures get lost. I might also add that in the same fog, institutions tend to become blurred into invisibility. To celebrate "A People" we need bunting, which long ago tore in the wind and was discarded. I need not ask you in 1966 to spend much time troubling over the significance of "A People."[6]

Starr then looks at the term "The People" which he states is "a crucial term in political theory."

> The people means the men and women of the nation, state, or city taken as a collectivity. It insists that for the purposes of this collectivity or the power it controls, there shall be no recognition of differences between the members based on race, hereditary status, or religious establishment. As a collectivity, The People is timeless, it refers to the people living today as it referred to those living at the time of the convention that cast the Preamble to the American Constitution, whose revolutionary first three words, "We, The People," were indeed heard round the world. We, The People, includes not only past and present persons, but the persons of the future, who, like the Christmas ghosts that visited Marley, exert an unearthly influence on the decisions made today.[7]

Then Starr talks about "People" with no article at all.

> People, with no article, connotes men, women, and children viewed many at a time, but with implicit emphasis on their individual characteristics. This usage of the noun has become widespread during the past decade. *People* have become a substitute for that word spoiled by a generation of radio announcers peddling boxtops: "Folks." *Folks* is now so drenched with sentimentality that it cannot be gripped without rubber gloves. Unfortunately, some of that sentimentality has also spotted the current use of the word "people." To the extent that current users of the word people would have their listeners believe that it is possible to deal with large numbers of persons simultaneously without losing sight of the divine *individual* spark that animates each separately, they are giving voice to an optical illusion.[8]

Still, says Starr, "a fervent belief continues to grow in the possibility of recognizing the individual needs of every single member of the collective."[9] Even a well-known city planner who wrote The City is the People began with the idea that the future city should be determined by The People, "that abstract holder of final authority and power."[10] By the time the book was published Churchill had begun to talk about People, people as individuals, people with individual tasks, references, and ideas.

But, states Starr, "not even The People, though sovereign, are the city."[11] He continues by pointing out that cities include institutions as well as persons and these institutions are vital to city life and continuity. These institutions were created and developed by The People; it would be foolhardy, believes Starr, to destroy or weaken those institutions, like government or education, because the interests of some persons (People) conflict or compete. "The People is paramount, even though it has become unfashionable to say so."[12]

Starr also rejects the concept of "advocacy planning" or "pluralistic planning," the theory that different planners should be retained for competitive groups within each city. Each planner or planning team would prepare its own plans for the maintenance and development of its section of the city, the plans would be approved by residents of the area, and, subsequently, voters might decide by referendum which plan was desirable. Starr rejects this concept not on the basis of practical difficulties, but on two philosophical problems.

First, while citizens "have a long list of rights, under state and local legislation, including the right to object, to speak, and to be heard ...[there is] no acknowledged right to demand that one's views, as a private citizen, must be followed by The People as a whole."[13] The second objection Starr posits is that ultimately any plan must override the objections of some citizens, of some People, in order to carry out the desires of the larger number. This is true of elections for representatives when a slight majority of voters can select one candidate over another or vote for one policy in preference over a competing idea.

Starr then discusses the Gettysburg speech of Abraham Lincoln approvingly. Lincoln told his listeners that they were attempting to maintain government "of the people, by the people, and for the people." Starr points out that Lincoln did not speak of government of people, by people, and for people. If Lincoln had said, and meant, government of people, he would have implied the government of those people who happened to be living at a particular period or those who were in control at that time not the sovereign power of The People.

Finally, Starr talks directly to planners, urging them to remember that "the collective will stands on a moral pinnacle at least as high as that of the individual." They must create effective compromise between the general and the specific; between the sovereign will of The People and the demands of People, always recognizing the individual rights of citizens as set forth in the law of the land. Planners must understand the basic needs of people, individually, as well as fitting these into the collective needs and objectives of The People.

One cannot help but be intrigued by the arguments Starr raises. Without question, the individual desires of some people cannot be allowed to overthrow the structures of government, the services, the moral authority of society which most of The People want. But when one begins to try to apply Starr's analysis, one has difficulty in distinguishing the categories. Does The People tend to be uncritically associated with the Status Quo? Does a minority or ethnic group become "a people," "The People," or "People"? Should decisions be made which adversely affect some People, even though a majority will benefit?

In terms of this course, one must apply the question of accountability. Starr makes it clear that he would hold public officials accountable to The

People, and not to specific individuals. Yet it is often those specific individuals who are harmed by decisions or official projects. How would Starr evaluate the accountability of an official to a minority group, an ethnic group, or a small group of critics (People)? How can the "sovereign will of The People" be ascertained?...and by whom? Does the "sovereign will" remain constant or must it be constantly readjusted to the demands of people?

Starr makes us think. He challenges the idea that officials can listen to all individuals or make decisions based on the demands of some citizens. He would probably deny that "the squeaking wheel should get the grease." But he seems to posit a form of elitism which may have been made obsolete by the 1960s. Still, the questions he raises remain critical: to whom are officials accountable? and on what basis?

16. How does Starr differentiate among "People," "A People," and "The People"?

17. On what basis does Starr argue that planners (and other officials) should pay less attention to demands of "People"?

18. Compare Starr's position with that of Rawls' theory of justice. Which do you prefer? Why?

19. In Starr's view, to what group (or groups) should the planner be accountable? Why?

20. What are some of the limitations to Starr's view of accountability?

E. A CASE STUDY: SAN FRANCISCO BAY

San Francisco Bay—The "Magic of Concerned Citizen Action"*

In 1960, three women living in the San Francisco Bay area decided to try to do something about the plight of the Bay, a magnificent natural resource. They were concerned about its appearance and disappearance. When California became a state in 1850, the surface of the Bay measured about 650 square miles. By 1960, it was down to approximately 430 square miles, the result of filling, diking and other development. Pending proposals, the women knew, would take another 59 square miles of the Bay.

The women discussed the problems of the Bay's future with conservationists and other concerned citizens, and a new citizen organization soon was established—the Save San Francisco Bay Association.

The new group immediately undertook two projects. It prompted a study of the Bay by the University of California's Institute for Governmental Studies at Berkeley. And it enlisted the support of an influential state senator. The study resulted in a book in 1963 entitled "The Future of San Francisco Bay." Aided by the study and increasing public pressure generated largely by the Save the Bay Association, the state senator successfully shepherded a bill through the California legislature creating an official commission to study the Bay.

The commission, in turn, recommended development of a regional plan to manage and protect the Bay. A new legislative proposal was prepared and submitted to the California legislature in 1965. It called for creation of the San Francisco Bay Conservation and Development Commission which would prepare a comprehensive and enforceable plan for the conservation of the Bay's water and the development of its shoreline.

The group mounted a massive public campaign in support of the bill to establish the commission. Included were mailings of small bags of sand to state legislators with this message: "You'll wonder where the water went if you fill the Bay with sediment."

The legislature passed the bill creating the commission. It provided a four-year period to complete the work and to protect the Bay during the study and planning period. The commission was given unprecedented veto power over development projects. The study was completed in 1969, and a report was submitted to the state recommending creation of a permanent regional agency to plan and regulate use of the entire Bay as a unit.

New legislation was introduced to implement the commission's recommendations. Development interests attempted to delay or weaken the bill, and a major conservation battle ensued. The Save the Bay Association and other citizen organizations went into action once again.

They applied "people pressure" to state officials through letters, telegrams and personal visits. They arranged for thousands of citizens to visit the state capitol in support of the proposed law. An editorial in the *San Francisco Chronicle* expressed the public's growing anger and aggressiveness, declaring: "It should not be necessary to warn legislators representing this region that the people of the Bay area will be unforgiving to those who fail in their responsibility to save the Bay from unwise exploitation, disfigurement and diminishment."

After several months of controversy in 1969, the years of effort to save the Bay finally succeeded. The legislature passed, and the governor signed the legislation which created a permanent Bay Conservation and Development Commission with strong authority to manage the Bay in the public interest.

The new law was a landmark achievement in effective management of natural resources through land-use planning and regional consensus. It has been emulated in other states.

Commenting on the historic law, the *San Francisco Chronicle* said: "All hail to it and to the thousands whose work and perseverance carried this legislation through the legislature . . . Continued public interest and demand—what has been called 'the magic of concerned citizen action'—can keep it strong and effective."

---

*United States Environmental Protection Agency, "San Francisco Bay--The Magic of Concerned Citizen Action;" Citizen Action Can Get Results. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1972), p. 26.

21. What methods did "the people" use to protect San Francisco Bay?

22. What indications of public accountability are recounted in this short article?

23. In your opinion should it have taken such public pressure to preserve the Bay?

FOOTNOTES

1. John Rawls, A Theory of Justice (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971).

2. Roger Starr, "The People Are Not The City," Planning 1966, September 1966, pp. 125-136.

3. Webster's Third New International Dictionary, 1966 ed., s.v. "accountability."

4. John Rawls, A Theory of Justice (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971).

5. Roger Starr, "The People Are Not The City," Planning 1966, September 1966, p. 125.

6. Ibid., p. 125.

7. Ibid., p. 125.

8. Ibid., p. 126.

9. Ibid., p. 126.

10. Ibid., p. 126-127.

11. Ibid., p. 127.

12. Ibid., p. 128.

13. Ibid., p. 128.

ASSIGNMENT

The following questions should be answered as completely as possible on separate paper. Two copies of your responses should be mailed to the instructor. One copy will be returned to you with the instructor's comments and the other will be retained as part of your course record.

Select one example of a public decision involving a project, program, or service--preferrably from a situation in your own experience--to use for this assignment. Then,

1. *Describe enough details of the setting, the problem, and the decision to make the example understandable to the instructor; (Use the San Francisco Bay case as a guide.)*
2. *Analyze and list ways in which the officials were or were not accountable; and*
3. *Extract from this incident possible steps which might have been taken by the officials in the interest of public accountability.*

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Browder, Leslie H., Jr., ed. Emerging Patterns of Administrative Accountability. Berkeley: McCutchan Publishing Co., 1971.

Cahn, Edmond, The Predicament of Modern Man. New York: Dell Publishing Co. 1962.

Mondale, Walter, F., The Accountability of Power: Toward a Responsible Presidency. New York: D. McKay, 1975.

Mortimer, Kenneth, P., Accountability in Higher Education. Washington, D.C.: American Association for Higher Education, 1972.

Pateman, Carole, Participation and Democratic Theory. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1970.

Rawls, John, A Theory of Justice. Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 1971.

Skolnick, Jerome, H., The Politics of Protest. New York: Ballantine Books, 1969.

United States Citizens Advisory Committee on Environmental Quality. Citizens Make the Difference: Case Studies of Environmental Action. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1973.

United States Environmental Protection Agency. Citizen Action Can Get Results. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1972.

PA 816
PUBLIC ACCOUNTABILITY

MODULE 2:
CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

PREPARED

BY:

DR. CLIFFORD HAM

UNIVERSITY EXTERNAL STUDIES PROGRAM

Developed by the University External Studies Program and the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs, University of Pittsburgh. Under Contract to The Urban Management Curriculum Development Project, The National Training and Development Service, 5028 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20016. Funded by The Office of the Assistant Secretary for Policy Development and Research, U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development.

MODULE 2: CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Title Page

Key Terms and Concepts XII.2.1
Introduction XII.2.1
Learning Objectives XII.2.2
Overview XII.2.3

Module Readings

A. Constructive Citizen Participation XII.2.4
B. Citizen Participation and Accountability XII.2.8
C. Citizen Participation in Public Affairs XII.2.11
D. Description of Citizen Participation Groups XII.2.27
E. Pittsburgh--A "Breathers' Lobby" XII.2.36
F. Citizen Involvement: Challenge/Response XII.2.39
Footnotes XII.2.57
Module Assignment XII.2.58
Selected Bibliography XII.2.59

MODULE 2: CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

KEY TERMS AND CONCEPTS

- Citizen
- Participation
- Strategies
- Elites
- Common Amateurs
- Power
- Decisions

INTRODUCTION

This Module relates citizen participation to public accountability. Effective citizen participation is seen as one way in which officials can demonstrate their accountability. (The next module, on decentralization, suggests another vehicle for demonstrating accountability.)

Citizen participation is defined, and three major strategies, i.e., cooperation, competition, and conflict, are described.

Different types of citizen groups are discussed, with each one related to one or another of the strategies.

Some case studies of citizen participation activities are then presented.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

When you have completed the readings and assignments for this module you should be able to:

1. Define the key words: citizen, participation, strategies.
2. State the role of citizen participation in public accountability.
3. Compare and contrast strategies used in citizen participation.
4. List some methods or tactics used in carrying out citizen participation strategies.
5. Relate several types of citizen participation with corresponding types of strategies used by those groups.
6. Describe the effectiveness of various strategies in achieving public accountability.

OVERVIEW

Objectives	Tasks	Resources	Evaluation
1. Define the key words: citizen, participation, strategies.	Study Questions 1, 2, 3, 7, 8	Module Readings: A, C	Self
2. State the role of citizen participation in public accountability.	Study Questions 4, 5, 6, 9	Module Readings: B, C	Self
3. Compare and contrast strategies used in citizen participation.	Study Question 10	Module Reading: D	Self
4. List some methods or tactics used in carrying out citizen participation strategies.	Study Questions 11, 18	Module Readings: D, F	Self
5. Relate several types of citizen participation with corresponding types of strategies used by those groups.	Study Question 12	Module Reading: D	Self
6. Describe the effectiveness of various strategies in achieving public accountability.	Study Questions 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20 Module Assignment	Module Readings: D, E, F Module Readings and your experience	Self Instructor feedback

A. CONSTRUCTIVE CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

> *"The idea of citizen participation is a little like eating spinach: no one is against it in principle because it is good for you."*
>
> *S. Arnstein, 1969*

Citizen participation has been defined in many ways; in fact, each citizen group probably has its unique description of the purpose, methods, and ends of citizen involvement. As part of our attempt to define it, let us begin with the term "citizen", which has often been taken for granted. A citizen is a role in which a person does not derive most of his/her income from the programs of concern nor from the participation activities. In this sense "citizen" includes most city officials, members of authorities, or consultants, except when their particular governmental programs are considered. On the other hand, it would exclude those on the payroll of a particular service or program when that program is being discussed; or the community organizers themselves. This definition of "citizen" is very similar to Rawls' idea of the "representative persons" in their "original position"; that is, persons who make decisions unaffected by knowledge of influence of their present position and who are representative, in a sense, of all other persons. [See Module 1, Section C: "A Theory of Justice and Accountability."] For example, police officers may well be "citizens" when housing or highway programs are being discussed; they change their role if crime or taxes are being discussed and then play an "official" role.

Citizen participation may be described as the opportunity for citizens:

- to learn of proposals, plans, or programs of potential interest;
- to express their opinion, advice or reactions to proposals, plans, or programs either affecting a neighborhood or a broader geographical area of concern;
- to communicate directly to staff members of an organization or city officials; and
- to expect to receive feedback and response to the reactions expressed.

Citizen participation may also be defined as the possession and exercise of limited power over public decisions by non-office holding residents.

Others have defined participation as a working partnership between public officials and community leaders.

The Housing and Community Development Act of 1974 established these guidelines for participation:

- citizens are provided adequate information;
- public hearings are held;
- citizens have adequate opportunity to participate in the preparation of the application for community development funds.

Desmond M. Connor defines "constructive citizen participation" as "a systematic process which provides an opportunity for citizens, planners, elected representatives, and members of relevant area agencies to share their experience, knowledge, and goals and to combine their energy to create a plan."[1]

Citizen participation as represented by these definitions requires more than spasmodic voting. Participation may involve the concerned citizen in activities such as public meetings and hearings , committee work, communicating with politicans and other decision makers and finding out about how decisions are made. Such a citizen will also keep informed about issues, the decision-making process, other concerned individuals and groups, and ways of getting opinions heard. Citizen participation need not mean attending meetings, for one can get opinions expressed and actions taken in other ways, as for example, telephone calls or letter writing.

Desmond M. Connor suggests that constructive citizen participation is happening when:

- planners listen to residents concerning their attitudes, goals, fears, and factual suggestions;
- citizens find early and convenient opportunities to make positive contributions. ("Citizens" may include visitors as well as residents, e.g., when tourists are part of the public.)

- citizens learn from planners and others a broader and deeper knowledge and understanding of their environment, its potential and its fragility;

- individuals, interest groups, and agencies are identifying their own positions, recognizing those of others and working towards, a win-win solution co-operatively rather than becoming locked into a destructive win-lose or lose-lose pattern;

- relationships between planners, politicans, and other people are strengthened so that communication barriers are breached and mutual trust increases as a foundation for communities to function more effectively in every way.[2]

On the other hand, Connor points out that constructive citizen participation is NOT:

- selling a pre-determined solution by public relations techniques;

- planning behind closed doors when information can be shared;

- one-way communication, e.g., planners telling people what is best for them;

- public confrontations between "people power" versus the bureaucracy;

- bypassing elected representatives or impairing their freedom to exercise their decision-making responsibilities.[3]

In this brief discussion of participation who have noticed several important points.

1. A citizen is one who has an interest in some plan, program, service or other policy decision, but whose interest is not because the citizen is employed or otherwise benefitting financially from the policy.

2. Participation has been defined as "the opportunity" to learn, to decide, to communicate, to act. There is no requirement that everyone get involved in each issue.

3. Constructive or meaningful participation generally assumes two-way communication and some response from officials. This implies that the citizens will have some effect upon policy proposals.

4. Participation is a process, not a simple act, structure, or accomplishment. Participation assumes a process of planning, decision-making, and development in which officials and citizens continuously interact and where the products emerge from the joint efforts.

STUDY QUESTIONS

1. From the readings define the terms: citizen; participation.

2. What is "constructive citizen participation"?

3. What are some of the requisites for meaningful or constructive citizen participation?

B. CITIZEN PARTICIPATION AND ACCOUNTABILITY

Citizen participation is generally viewed as a movement of grass-root citizens toward government. As such, it represents an effort by citizens to make government and public officials more accountable to them. For example, citizen participation helps keep officials in touch with citizens and their concerns. Citizens, meeting formally and informally with officials, indicate problems, concerns, needs, and ideas. The official can respond quickly, unhampered by the typical barriers of bureaucracy.

Citizens and officials meeting informally can exhange information and ideas without "going on record." An official may be able to "sound out" several possible projects, asking citizens to express personal views. The citizens, also, may be unhampered by the need to get their organization's approval. The meeting ground can be neutral and free from telephones, files, and other workers.

Officials can demonstrate their concern and accountability by their willingness to meet, discuss with, and respond to citizens. Clearly, officials who hesitate to meet with their consituents suggest some lack of responsibility.

Citizen participation mechanisms offer a middle way between extremes. On the one hand, officialdom can supply many excellent services but never have contact with the recipients. On the other, all services are performed by citizens themselves. Participation suggests a sharing of tasks, with citizens taking responsibility for some community tasks and officials for others, and, especially, an exchange of ideas and concerns.

Other ways in which participation and accountability are linked may be discovered in the following pages.

In addition to this relationship between citizen participation and accountability, there are several reasons for considering citizen participation desirable. These various arguments or justifications for citizen participation, which we shall now examine, may be classified as:

1. the philosophical justification;
2. the pragmatic approach;
3. the organizational theory argument; and
4. the view of man position.

1. The classical or philosophical reason goes back to Rousseau, English philosophers, such as John Stuart Mill, and founders of the American republic , such as Thomas Jefferson. Dr. James Cunningham, writing of this position, states:

> The classical ideal of democracy went far beyond voting. It held the vision of an active, informed, democratic citizenry involved in the development of public policy. By such participation would come a gain in knowledge and understanding, a deeper sense of social responsibility, and an outlook broadened beyond the narrow limits of private life. This process would produce better men. The Yankee Town meeting where all voting citizens would sit for two days to debate and decide on every road and bridge repair and every item in the town budget was an embodiment of the classical version during the 18th and 19th centuries. With the rise of cities in the 19th century, this tradition died out for most citizens.[4]

2. The pragmatic or practical approach to citizen participation grows out of the realization that "it works." Effective and meaningful participation allows government, with the cooperation of citizens, to expedite necessary projects. Involving citizens is practicable and useful to officals. Contrarily, failure to involve citizens in decision-making has often resulted in delays or even halting of "essential" projects. Typical have been successful moves at preventing or delaying interstate highway construction through urban areas, halting dams and nuclear power plants by conservationists and other concerned citizens, and the delay of the Alaskan pipeline. In other words, the practical politican involves citizens in the three phases of a project--planning, implementation, and evaluation--in order that the best possible public program results.

3. Another reason for participation is emerging from new theories of organization, and especially the "human relations" approach to administration. Increased dissatisfaction with "assembly line" production or football-field offices has led to studies and experiments focused upon increased worker participation, team assembly units rather than long assembly lines, and employee involvement in deciding upon working conditions and their changes. Yugoslavia, with its worker-management system, has probably advanced further than the United States in involving workers in decision-making.

Organizational theory tells us that the social needs of individuals are as important or even more important than economic needs. Good communication, participating in decisions, and leadership opportunities keep workers more satisfied and productive. Applying this concept to our municipalities, we assume citizens also want the opportunity to participate in the important decisions.

4. Another justification for participation is that it is inherent in the nature of man. Participation helps people to develop their abilities, to feel needed, to take their share of responsibility, to become fully human. In this view, government should aid in the education and development of its citizen by helping them share in the tasks of governing. Furthermore, this should not be a reluctant nor forced sharing, but, rather, it must be seen as one way in which citizens and government are working together to help shape and prepare more fully responsible, concerned citizens.

Not everyone accepts all of the foregoing arguments or rationales for citizen participation. Before concluding this section, therefore, some of the counterarguments to the need of citizen participation will now be briefly outlined without comment. It will be left up to the reader to judge the appropriateness of these objections. The reasons commonly cited in opposition to the arguments for citizen participation include the following:

- elected officials have been selected to represent the citizens and make decisions; to ask for more involvement by citizens diffuses the officials' responsibility;
- citizen participation requires the time and the concern of officials; it leads to inefficiencies and arguments; it does not work;
- the technical staff knows what is needed better than the citizens; citizens really don't know what they need or what is good for them; and
- most citizens don't care and won't participate anyhow.

4. How does citizen participation relate to the basic concept of accountability?

5. List the four reasons given for encouraging citizen participation, and discuss each briefly, indicating which is most meaningful to you.

6. Do you agree or disagree with the objections to citizen participation? Why or why not?

C. CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS

The following reading, by James V. Cunningham, traces the history of citizen involvement in controlling individual and group life from earliest times to the present. It describes many kinds of organizations in which people became involved. It defines "citizen participation" and other terms such as "power" and "decisions." Finally, it suggests four issues for our era which you should be aware of.

Citizen Participation in Public Affairs

James V. Cunningham, *University of Pittsburgh*

Everyday experience subjected to speculation readily leads to a view of the human person as an irrepressible controller. Whether exchanging money for goods, picking a mate, driving an automobile, or filling out a tax form, the human species can be observed maneuvering to maintain choice and somehow to be the principal determiner of outcome. An incessant struggle goes on against domination by outside elements. Obviously, each person wants control over his or her life. Perhaps the drive can be largely snuffed out at an early age, but even when this has happened it seems possible for the drive to recur.

Why, then, should citizen participation be accorded the attention usually reserved for a revolutionary innovation? Is it not merely an application of a long-identified general principle of human inclination to public affairs?

History, it seems, is a winding tale of frustration for all but a few members of the human race. Records of the past indicate that in most times and places the ordinary human being has been dominated by traditions and elites. The inclination for self-determination has been largely stymied. And especially in public affairs; that is, those matters that go beyond individuals and families to affect many members of a community. Consequently, an outbreak of participation in any age becomes a significant event. And, in our age the phenomenon may be of special significance to executives of public organizations, increasingly puzzled by citizens who are not satisfied with periodic voting in elections, but want some control over the month-to-month policy decisions of public organizations.

This essay will seek to summarize the nature and impact of the participative phenomenon, consider possible explanations for its existence, and seek some understanding of its extraordinary growth since the end of World War II. First, citizen participation will be looked at within a broad context of human history. Second, the main elements of the U.S. experience will be examined. Third, definition will be pinned down, and an effort made to test the genuineness of the contemporary phenomenon. Fourth, a number of possible explanations for the existence of participation will be considered. And, fifth, an analysis of the contemporary situation will be attempted, with some projection into the future.

Historical Background

We know little concerning control over "public affairs" during the vast, murky ages of prehistory, before humans had settled down to making books and cities. It is possible that choice of camp locations, crops to be planted and similar decisions were made jointly by many adult members of a tribe or village. Some traces of communal assemblies among prehistoric peoples of India, Africa, and elsewhere have survived (32). Most evidence of the paleolithic and neolithic ages, however, points to domination of human activity by the past and the few. Excavations of some early western villages reveal a single house larger than the others, suggesting the residence of an "elite" village

---

Written with the assistance of Fred Clark, persistent and creative research associate, School of Social Work, University of Pittsburgh.

*Reprinted with permission from Public Administration Review, October 1972. pp. 589-602.

person. Artifacts indicate a strong influence of religion, magic, and ritual.

By "elite" here is meant simply a dominant person in a society; the more powerful, wiser, richer, older, the more blessed. They are the "set apart" or chosen few who control the many. Vilfredo Praeto has described elites as, "the strongest, most energetic, and most capable—for good as well as evil." It would seem logical to deduce that a drive to control one's own fate can grow to become a drive to control the fate of others. Such a drive seems to become realized when supported by superior wealth, strength, shrewdness, luck, personality, intellect, information, or ability to organize.

With the speed up in human development and bursting forth of "history" around 3000 B.C., the new written record clearly identified class divisions, and revealed elites firmly in place, with the indication they had been in command for some time. Both Egyptian and Sumerian documents point to pharoahs and priest-stewards who, with purported divine support, held sway over masses of people. The ignorance of the masses and the necessity for organization and discipline to insure survival of human settlements apparently made elite rule inevitable. Through half the period of human history, in the known world of North Africa, Near East, and Aegean Sea, the record is spread with the figures of patriarchs, chieftains, kings, priests, warrior princes, and generals.

From the emergence of complex civilization in the eastern Mediterranean to the planting of the Anglo-Saxon branch in Virginia and Massachusetts 4600 years later, elites seem generally to have been in charge. However, elites were under periodic pressure from ordinary citizens who sought to gain some share in control. For most of this long period the men set apart by wealth and strength resisted the challenge, but at least two breakthroughs occurred. The first great surge of mass participation in public affairs came in the classical Greek city-state, the second came in the growing towns of medieval Europe and England.

A people with roots going back to Africa, Asia, and Europe, the earliest Greeks lived on the land in families where household gods were worshipped and the patriarch of the family was obeyed as a priest king. In time families came together in towns, and eventually in cities, where relative peace, prosperity, and diffused learning provided a milieu favorable to the human inclination for autonomy.

As Fustel de Coulanges has traced its unfolding, the Greek city was transformed by degrees. The number of citizens increased as the younger branches of families were admitted to positions of equality. Later, freed clients were admitted to citizenship, "all that multitude which, during centuries, had remained outside the political and religious association, sometimes even outside the sacred enclosure of the city, broke down the barriers which were opposed to them, and penetrated into the city, where they immediately became the masters" (16, p.278). The breakthrough was visible most dramatically in the *Ecclesia* of Athens, a popular assembly open to all free, male citizens 18 and older. It was a forum for public debate, consensus seeking, and democratic decision making. The *Ecclesia* had the basic policy-making power, but was checked by a council of 500 which screened the agenda, and by a court which ruled on the constitutionality of measures passed. The 500 were elected. Members of the Court were chosen by lot. Demagogues and patricians, charlatans and statesmen, all had their opportunity. Leadership and participation seemed to be compatible and reinforcing. Longevity attested to the usefulness of the *Ecclesia*.

Childe has reminded us that Athens was an imperial city, made prosperous by the exploitation of other peoples. "Thus the Athenian 'people' was in a sense only an exceptionally large and diversified ruling class" (13, p.216). C.M. Bowra sees Athenian direct democracy, at least in its early days, marked by "an undeniably aristocratic tone . . ." (9, pp. 85-86). But regardless of status and tone, it was a government with direct involvement of masses of amateurs. Rome, on the other hand, was never more than an oligarchy with some voting rituals (13, p.217).

With the decay and fragmentation of the Roman Empire, the main path to Virginia and Massachusetts became strewn with a hodgepodge of aggressive tribes and small states each with its chiefs, kings, bishops, and lords. Gone was the relative peace, widespread learning, and urbanism of the classical society, within which participative inclinations had some outlet. The mass of medieval people were bound to the land by necessity and law. Even fighting became an aristocratic occupation, largely confined to the knight warrior who held an estate sufficient to support horses (81). During most of the middle ages in most places the ordinary person's survival depended on his subservience to tradition and to members of the secular and religious hierarchies.

The mass of peoples lived in rural villages where they did each year what they had done the year before, "what their grandfathers and great-grandfathers had done, time out of mind"(58, pp. 151-152). Even in the towns which revived or unfolded anew around the 10th century, custom was a strong influence on status and price. (54, p. 179). Yet as with the Greeks powerful change forces came with urbanism.

Apparently, for the first time in history, control over some public affairs passed beyond the religious-governmental complex as urban artisans formed voluntary associations (guilds) to advance and protect their crafts. This gave the members increased control over some public matters vital to their work. In some instances guilds came to have a major influence on the government of towns and cities (54) (58). Voluntary associations also came into being to provide charity, education, and other services.

Although more people shared control in towns, this usually meant merely increasing the elites. Burgesses, masters, landlords, and merchant-capitalists, members of a rising urban, commercial middle class, were added to the existing squires, bishops, thanes, sheriffs, abbots, and rural landlords.

In some places classical direct participation reasserted itself. The city-states of Renaissance Italy sought to restore the classical system, but in time found it too unwieldy and resorted to representative democracy. The same sequence occurred in the English township, which as early as the 9th century functioned through popular assemblies. In some Swiss cantons and communes participative government became operative in the 13 century and has continued until the present time, influencing the structure of the national government (57, pp. 34-43) (74, pp. 41-51). However, in most of Europe in the later middle ages, reality was in the rise of the absolutist national state.

The United States Experience

It was from a diverse,changing Europe that the seeds of a new social organization were implanted in North America. In England, the direct source of the new society, elitism was enthroned at the national level. England, however, was the nation which had created the Magna Carta in 1215,defining a new relationship of shared powers among king and barons, and guaranteeing certain liberties for cities and boroughs, as well as the right of due process for all citizens. Moreover, most local church congregations practiced self-rule.

The spirit of rights of the individual and shared control provided the climate within which the original Virginia and New England colonial settlements were launched. Their ability to follow the spirit was aided by 2,000 miles of ocean which separated the settlements from the absolutist inclinations of British monarchs. Virginians met in their first assembly in 1619 to pass laws. The following year the Pilgrims established a government of their own when 41 adult males met aboard the Mayflower before going ashore in New England.

Seemingly, English influence was paramount in shaping the new society. But it was not the only influence. From the beginning the colonists had relationships with native Indians, some of whom customarily made important decisions at full councils of warriors. Spanish settlements in North America sometimes used a *cabildo abierto* (open council) (32, p. 236). And some of the black people brought to North America were accustomed to village assemblies. The impact of the Indian, Spanish, and African cultures on the methods of decision making in the new synthetic society that was to become the United States are beyond the scope of this essay. It would make a most important subject for extensive study.

The Town Meeting

In keeping with English tradition dating back to the ninth century, confirmed by the Magna Carta, the towns of the colonies held certain powers which were exercised jointly by citizens through a town meeting, a participatory form which spread throughout New England and even into Wisconsin (20). The town meeting was a kind of local, latter-day successor to the *Ecclesia* with a not dissimilar set of restrictions on membership. Generally, the town meeting was limited to free, white, property-owning, male, adult citizens (84, p. 19). However, it dealt with minor matters compared to the weighty, sovereign questions of war and justice debated in the *Ecclesia*. For instance, records of the meetings in Lynn, Massachusetts, in 1691 show concern for "Cuting or carrying away any wood of any part of the town's Commons," and insuring that ". . . all swine be sufficiently yoaked and ringed" (44, pp. 7-13).

In any town a sizable number were eligible to participate; but, as in ancient Athens, the town meeting was often dominated by elite citizens. It was an English tradition that wealthy, successful men dominate (55). Town government was democratic in form, but deferential in practice. It also was neighborhood oriented, a focus most citizens seem to retain to the present day.

The Jacksonian Revolution

In the 19th century there was a more general broadening of democratic practices which has contributed to the practice of power being shared by the citizenry. This broadening took place at the state and national levels, most notably during the presidency of Andrew Jackson.

It became concrete in the states by the dropping of property qualifications for the vote; at the national level by the appointment of the self-educated and rough-hewn to important public offices. Jackson was the first President risen from modest means. He rejected the indispensability of the best families and of established members of the civil service.

The Jacksonian Revolution did not so much create participation as improve the climate for it.

Voluntary Organizations

With rapid growth of larger urban areas, direct participation in local government receded into the background. Party and caucus leaders took more power (11). European peasant immigrants who were unaccustomed to an active citizen's role flooded into cities (31). Political party leaders found profit in organizing and manipulating the masses, often in concert with businessmen (3, chapter 2). As a solution to multiplying problems, increasing numbers of city people turned to voluntary associations: churches, charity organizations, settlement houses, or trade unions.

De Tocqueville was deeply impressed with the mighty array of voluntary associations he found flourishing in the U.S. in the early 19th century. He credited them to a confidence which "pervades every act of social life. There is no end which the human will despair of attaining through the combined power of individuals united into a society" (72, I, pp. 198-199). The number of associations has increased every year, with many citizens gaining some influence in public affairs throuth them, although the power and jurisdiction of any single association is usually severely limited.

The U.S. Statistical Abstract for 1969 reported 10,299 "non-profit organizations of national scope," and 321,070 local churches with 124 million members. Arnold Rose has estimated there are over 100,000 voluntary associations in the United States exclusive of the governmental, the church-affiliated, and the strictly occupational (59, p. 218).

During the early 20th century, and especially during the 1920's, voluntary organizations concerned with city planning emerged. Through the Regional Plan Association in New York City, groups of businessmen in Chicago, the Pittsburgh Regional Planning Association, and similar organizations, studies were done and projects launched which affected the shaping of cities (86, Part II). To this day, elite citizen planning groups on regional and city levels continue to be influential. Increasingly, neighborhood councils have offered masses of ordinary citizens the opportunity to exert some control over local planning and community renewal.

There remain, however, large numbers of citizens who belong to no associations (87). And, only a few members of any association may be genuine policy makers. By and large, the officers and board members of associations are (or become) elites (82, chapter X). For example, a study of a large trade union has resulted in the conclusion that, "the functional requirements for democracy cannot be met most of the time in most unions or other voluntary groups, one reason being that the structure of large-scale organization inherently requires the development of bureaucratic patterns of behavior" (42, p. 452).

Generally, the subject matter and amount of power involved are less important in voluntary organizations than in government, but both represent opportunities for the human drive for control to be realized.

Cooperative Extension Movement

Voluntary organizations pervaded rural areas. A Massachusetts society for promoting agriculture was underway in the 1790's. The National Grange claimed 860,000 members in 1875. Governmental support was given to rural betterment efforts by the Morrill Acts of 1862 and 1890 which underwrote land grant colleges that specialized in agriculture and other "practical arts," and launched field demonstrations to aid farmers. Great impetus came to this movement in 1914 with congressional passage of the Smith-Lever Act setting up the Cooperative Extension Service through which county agents went out from land grant colleges to educate and organize farmers and their families (36). The federal government acting to promote participation turned out to be a historic step. Local people, working with the county agent, initiated plans and carried them out. "Participation and leadership were required. Plans had to be mutually agreed upon" (12, p. 14).

Out of this model of participation came the farmers committees which set local production quotas and made other decisions for agricultural programs begun with the New Deal. This principle of decision by voluntary agreement rather than by government appeared in other public affairs, such as the business recovery programs of NRA.

Business and Industry

A major area of life where elitist rule predominated in the form of hierarchies was the factory. Factories had been organized with strong top-down control. Scientific management with time studies and piece work emerged. Starting on a large scale in the 19th century, workingmen's associations fought to share some control over vital matters including wages and working conditions. In the 1920's and 1930's research by industrial psychologists indicated that communication, participation, and leadership were factors in a productive operation (24, chapter 4) (64). Some businesses experimented with participatory procedures in their plants and offices, seeking greater productivity (26) (40).

This so-called "human relations in industry" movement has consisted mostly of theories, experiments, and demonstrations without giving rise to general changes in factory practices. Some critics look upon it as an exercise in co-optation and manipulation (38). In any case it has not become a major force in the United States as it has in some European nations. Trade unions have remained the principle instrument for participation in the business sector. Many local unions practice direct democracy, but generally the number of members participating is small.

Federal Support Since World War II

During the first 300 years of the new society, institutions for the management of public affairs were shaped in part by the drive of ordinary citizens to share control. This happened in spite of the society's institutions being created and administered primarily by elites. By the time the nation's single most powerful institution, the national government, came to take the preeminent role in social and economic life in the 1930's, citizen participation was a visible and respected, but not important element in public affairs. After World War II, when the national government returned to domestic programs on a grand scale, it did so, as history indicated it might, with certain participative aspects.

One after another vast new social program directly reaching citizens in their home communities has been launched. These programs have concerned urban renewal, juvenile delinquency, poverty, manpower training, model cities, neighborhood health centers, and community mental health. Each program has followed the two-level procedure used in Cooperative Extension: major funds and guidelines offered from the national level, with specific program determination, matching funds, and execution at the local level. In most cases the actual locus of program implementation has been the neighborhood. Participation has been an aspect of each program, given at least lip service by the national government. And in each program, efforts by ordinary citizens to exercise some control at the local level have been met by opposition.

Urban renewal, the first of the post-war programs, was launched by the Housing Act of 1949. A provision in the federal regulations in that Act required participation (33). More than 1,300 towns and cities responded to the opportunity to seek funds under the Act, and in most of these some form of participation emerged. Whether or not attempts at citizen control over urban renewal decisions achieved results, they did serve as important precedents for the programs which followed. In some places the urban renewal experience provided a cadre of knowledgeable citizens and professional organizers who were quick to seize opportunities for participation in other federally funded programs (47).

Participation was given general and widespread thrust with the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, which came in response to growing civil rights pressures, and contained the well-known "maximum feasible participation" clause. Many citizens and professional organizers used it not only as a mandate to seek citizen control for local antipoverty programs, but to initiate wider efforts toward gaining control over local welfare, education, and public housing institutions.

Tales have floated about, in and out of print, relating how various liberal machiavellians in the

Executive Branch slipped in the "maximum feasible" clause (39, chapter 5). Mayor Richard Daley of Chicago told the author in an interview in 1966, "I have talked to a number of congressmen and they really didn't know what they were doing when they passed the Act." In view of the U.S. experience and the broader history of the human race, it is not surprising that such a clause should be included. Given our inherited participatory ethos, it might have been more surprising if the Act had been silent on the subject. Tradition, a sometime enemy of participation, was here a stimulant of participation, just as with the Swiss canton (32, p. 232).

The Act unloosed federal money and local organizers nationwide to create and broaden local citizen participation in public affairs. Antipoverty councils sprung into being, especially in black neighborhoods. A relatively small percentage of citizens actually participated; and most of those who did found they had to battle established elites for power over decisions (17). A thorough analysis of participation and the antipoverty program is found in the essay by John Strange which is part of this issue of PAR.

As citizen movements of the poor, the black, and others in old neighborhoods were perceived to reallocate power and material resources, in other groups the latent drive for control manifested itself. Students, women, consumers, public employees, middle-class environmentalists, white ethnics, and prisoners are among the groups which have come to demand more self-determination. Within this ferment new social development programs have continued to flow out of Washington, each one firmly wrapped in a participation ribbon. Professor Raymond Vernon of Harvard estimates that before the outbreak of these contemporary participation efforts, less than five per cent of citizens had real power over decision making in public affairs. Today, he estimates that up to 20 per cent may have such power with the proportion increasing (76). This, of course, means that over 80 per cent of the people are without participative power.

We have examined in too few pages the large swath of human experience forming a background to contemporary developments in citizen participation in the United States. It is a story of elites in command of public affairs incessantly challenged by nonelites who occasionally succeed in their quest to share command.

This experience tells us that even when the pressure of nonelites forces some sharing of control in a society, participation is limited. In the Greek city-state, Swiss communes, and towns of England and New England there were barriers of age, sex, and status limiting status as a citizen; of those eligible, only a fraction utilized participatory opportunities. (Athens eventually had to offer a fee to entice citizens to spend the day at the *Ecclesia*.) Mostly, the public affairs vulnerable to participation appear to have been local, that is at the level where issues are concrete and most encompassable for the ordinary individual.

Elitism has tended to rise with size of territory and population. In the New England town meeting, for instance, representation replaced direct participation whenever towns grew beyond neighborhood size. Scale and complexity seems generally to mitigate against participation.

One possible explanation for the dominance of elites through history appears to be that self-determination has not been the person's only strong inclination. Security and material well-being have been others. So far, at least, attaining security and material well-being has required organization. Organization has begot discipline and hierarchy even in democratic societies, as Robert Michels stated in his often-quoted *Iron Law of Oligarchy*: ". . . the formation of oligarchies within the various forms of democracy is the outcome of organic necessity, and consequently effects every organization" (48, p. 402). It is significant to note that Michels was not writing about governments, but voluntary organizations.

In modern times, public affairs are shaped by governmental, voluntary, and business organizations. Participation seems possible in all three, with occurrence more likely in voluntary organizations (78, p. 436), which generally possess less power and deal with the least important affairs. In any case, the nature of participation seems the same whatever the type of organization. It is the same struggle for control by nonelites regardless of the organizational arena. This becomes clear as definition and classification are dealt with.

Some Definitions and Classifications

This essay began with a rather loose definition of citizen participation in public affairs as possession by the ordinary person of some control over those matters that effect members of a community. This notion has been very much alive in democratic political theory, but more as a vision of what could be than a chronicle of what is. Political scientist David K. Hart reviews political theory perspectives on citizen participation in another essay in this issue. What is of concern here is citizen participation as a contemporary social phenomenon. What is it? How real is it?

From history, contemporary events, and the blizzard of definitions available to us (2) (15) (51) (53) (61), etc., three essential definitional elements emerge: *common amateurs, power, decisions.*

Common amateurs are members of the community without paid office, wealth, special information, or other formal power source beyond their own numbers. They are the nonelite citizens whose gaining of some control springs from the participation process itself. By community is meant a body of people interrelated by locality or organization.

Power is control: the ability of a person to get others to think and act as that person wants them to think and act. Participation occurs when such control comes into the hands of common amateurs and is exercised over decisions that affect several members of the society.

Decisions are significant, substantive choices. They are the action element of the participation process. Common amateurs can possess power, but if they do not exercise it, there is no participation. "Significant" and "substantive" here indicate that the matter being decided upon directly affects a number of persons in important ways, and generally would exclude merely going into a polling booth and casting a ballot to help choose an official who later would make decisions on behalf of the public.

Citizen participation, then, is defined as a process wherein the common amateurs of a community exercise power over decisions related to the general affairs of the community.

It is an advanced process within the democratic idea and occurs when nonelite persons in large numbers extend their policy-making role beyond routine voting in elections. When this, or a similar definition, is applied to contemporary undertakings in citizen participation, it is possible to get some measure of the authenticity of the phenomenon.

First, the definition will be applied to the federally supported urban renewal program. Standard procedure in the nation's 1,300 urban renewal communities has been the formation of "an active citizens advisory committee that is communitywide and representative in scope, officially designated by the mayor and/or council, in accordance with local custom" (33, p. 1). Generally such committees have been made up of elitist, uncommon members of a community. While they have dealt with significant and substantive public matters, they have exercised no real power, made no choices. They have, in fact, been only advisory. Such undertakings do not meet the test. Robert Dahl, after studying one such committee, termed its activity "ritualistic" (22), a seemingly apt label.

But such committees have not been the only form of participation to emerge within urban renewal. Citizens in some neighborhoods have organized themselves to do planning and seek urban renewal, and in others have organized in the face of urban renewal programs already launched in an attempt to control them. For instance, in the Homewood-Brushton neighborhood of Pittsburgh, citizens organized through block clubs and a central council to initiate renewal planning. They largely controlled the decisions in the plan (18, chapter 9). People of the Woodlawn community in Chicago, through their organization, "intercepted" an urban renewal plan initiated by the University of Chicago and reshaped it to their objectives (10). In both cases the undertakings were open to whatever common amateurs chose to take part. The amateurs did exercise power over decisions important to their neighborhoods. The Homewood-Brushton and Woodlawn efforts seem to have met the test, but they were the exception, the bulk of urban renewal decisions still being made by elites. (However, new regulations on "project area committees," issued in 1968, have enhanced neighborhood participation in renewal.)

Much more widespread citizen participation came out of the antipoverty program, with a wide array of citizen boards and neighborhood councils. The boards have been limited in size and mixed in membership with elites and nonelites, but they have controlled large budgets and made important decisions on programs and staff. Neighborhood councils, on the other hand, have tended to be made up of amateurs, and most seem to have had little or no actual control over decisions, although in some cities such as Durham and San Francisco, great influence was exerted at times in the early days (1965-66) of the antipoverty program (17). These efforts meet the test only in part. The overall result of the struggle for control between elites and nonelites in the antipoverty program has been accurately termed a "stalemate" (75).

The Model Cities Program has followed the same pattern of mixed policy boards (called commissions) made up of a limited number of elite and amateur members. Below them are various neighborhood committees and councils that sometimes influence, but do not decide. The real power to decide in the Model Cities Program is mandated by law to the local governing body, usually a city council. After studying the Model Cities Program in nine cities, community theorist Roland L. Warren has called it "a modest but meaningful experiment in participation ... [which may be] little more than a pageant in many cities ..." (79, p. 13). With the possible exception of a few cities where model cities commissions have generated sufficient power to have a virtual veto over decisions, the efforts with model cities do not meet the test of authenticity.

Other contemporary efforts at participation, whether around neighborhood control of schools, community health centers, or economic development, reveal the same complexity and gradations. Some efforts are pure ritual and meet the test of citizen participation not at all. Occasionally, one like Woodlawn hits the mark and demonstrates it is possible to have authentic participation. Most efforts seem to fall in between, involving some common amateurs, but usually in a limited way through systems of representation that may influence decisions, but rarely control them.

Carole Pateman, a theorist whose work is based on industrial and political organizations, identifies three types of participation: *full, partial*, and *pseudo*. Full participation exists when all members of the body have equal power over decision; partial is when some members have power, others only influence; and pseudo is when some members have no power (53).

An organizer with direct experience in many of the contemporary efforts, Sherry Arnstein, has formulated a "ladder of participation" which is a more complex variation of the same three-part typology. Her first two rungs ("manipulation" and "therapy") are classified as nonparticipation. The middle three rungs ("information," "consultation," and "location") are labelled tokenism. And the three upper rungs ("partnership," "delegated power," and "citizen control") she calls degrees of power. Arnstein calls her ladder "simplistic," stating it might be possible to identify 150 rungs (4).

Others with compatible classifications include David Austin, who has conducted extensive case studies of antipoverty programs (5, chapter 1), and researchers Norman Johnson and Edward Ward (34).

The conclusion that arises from application of the definition to the contemporary scene is that the post-war phenomenon is complex, with gradations of genuineness in the participation that has taken place. The drive for full participation appears to be real enough, but the result seems mostly to be limited or pseudo participation. (Some elite poverty officials have attempted to pass off sample surveys of the poor and staff appointments for the poor as participation.) This evidence does not seem to back up Raymond Vernon's sanguine statement that 20 per cent of citizens have achieved power. Perhaps he meant to say "influence."

We have not yet seen widespread authentic participation in our time and we do not know what it would do to our society. Nor do "realists" like Daniel Moynihan, who view participation with alarm (50). As Roland Warren has put it: "Those who consider resident participation to be outmolded, unrealistic, a calamity, are doing so more as an indicator of changing ideological styles and climates than out of a valid basis for assessment" (79).

Since it is all so difficult and discouraging, why does the drive persist? Having described this contemporary social phenomenon, how do we account for it? If we can discover more about why it persists, perhaps we will know more about what this social phenomenon might mean for the future of our society.

Alternative Theories

This essay began with speculation about the everyday behavior of people expressing a need for self-determination. Such a view leans toward an internal human drive as explanation for the existence of citizen participation. As Herbert McClosky has put it, this looks to influences which are essentially psychological and cognitive. And, we would add, theological. Such a view, explaining apart from external forces and manipulation, strengthens the case for an authentic phenomenon. Most of those who support this view depend on normative and philosophical approaches.

At the same time, external influences are looked to by a number of theorists. Some of these also are normative, but most are positivist. The positivists, working from hard data about human behavior, tend to consider the citizen's environment, social and political, and generally are pessimistic about the development of widespread participation that is either authentic or useful. Those with a normative approach are the classical democratic theorists, a largely optimistic group.

Among those holding an internal view most prominently are the philosophical-humanist group and the theological group. Each depends heavily on the dignity of the persons as demanding freedom and self-determination. Theological authors start with Genesis: "And God said: Let us make man in our image and likeness: and let him have dominion over the fishes of the sea, and the birds of the air, and the beasts, and the whole earth . . . ." The explanation to our age comes through clearly: the person's nature demands that he control rather than be controlled.

In our time, Teilhard de Chardin deduces a "withinness propelling each person to develop and expand his role in the universe" (70). Reinhold Niebuhr speaks of the essential freedom of man's nature (67, p. 157), Paul Tillich of "the relative power of being, actualized in all those who are involved in the struggle" (71, p. 87).

Of the philosophical-humanist writers, Frantz Fanon represents a strong view. He records the thoughts of the rebelling native who has been treated as an animal by his colonial master: " . . . he knows that he is not an animal; and it is precisely at the moment he realizes his humanity that he begins to sharpen the weapons with which he will secure its victory" (25, p. 43).

Not so optimistic about things happening was C. Wright Mills who spoke of " . . . ordinary men . . . driven by forces they can neither understand nor govern" (49). Paul Goodman writes about the tragedy of a society placing "the organized system" above "human nature" (27).

In this internal view, the person is the only reflective creature, able to look in upon himself, have knowledge of his being, and make conscious choices. Obstacles to free choosing inhibit and demean the person in this development. He cannot be fully a person without self-determination, his nature drives him to fullfillment. Retarding his drive forward is a complex civilization where choices require information and production requires organization. Structure and elites tend to be imperatives. The elites want to make the choices and possess the information to do it. Hence, frustration; but with the demands of the nonelite continuing, mounting at times to crisis and breakthrough. Bureaucracy begets not only oligarchy but opposition.

There is another side to this "internal" coin. It can be said that an internal drive springs from self-interest, what the orthodox economist calls the inclination to maximize utility. Here the drive does not seem so noble, for selfish humanity pushes forward. Persons of like interest combine to advance their interests, and organizations proliferate. More of the strong are enabled to participate, but more organizations stand in the way of the weak. This places the phenomenon of participation in our time on a par with ancient Athens where the citizens of one city-state sat upon the necks of the citizens of several other city-states.

The self-interest view is implicit in such explanations as: people participate to gain needed social changes; to relieve psychic suffering; for material gain; to learn skills; to reform agencies in government; to achieve decentralization; to secure a basic right.*

Internal theories of citizen participation are related to the increased intellectual capacity and information flow to individuals. Perhaps post-war amateurs have had more capacity for seeking to fulfill their need for self-determination. At the outbreak of World War II the average adult in the U.S. had little more than an elementary education (8.6 years). Today the average adult has a high school education and by 1980 it is likely to be one or two years of college. This is a significant change. Through the electronic media he has immediate access to immense amounts of information. McClosky reports that many studies show a correlation between education and political participation (46). Such a society has more capacity for ideas and initiative, just as citizens of classical times had more capacity than the primitives, and the merchants and artisans of medieval towns had more than the peasant groups which begot them. Educated people, it could be claimed, have shown themselves better able to implement their internal design.

At this point the analysis links the internal view with the external view. Increased capacity would enable people to respond more effectively to external influences as well as to internal ones.

Those who look to external influences range from environmental determinists like B. F. Skinner, through behavior-oriented social scientists and pragmatic administrators, to the classical democrats. Their explanations contain widely varying views on the authenticity of participation. Skinner announces the demise of "the autonomous inner man," and any internal drives with him. He sees the person in society merely responding to the environment constructed over time. Occasional innovators (idea elites) bring change, but for the masses it is a world of *operant conditioning*. In Skinner's world, participation flows from manipulation (66).

---

*The author acknowledges the assistance of John Strange in writing this paragraph.

Social scientists such as James Q. Wilson (85), Peter Rossi and Robert Dentler (60), and more recently Elliot A. Krause (37), have observed citizens in relation to urban renewal planning and seen the common amateurs largely in support roles, taking small parts in minor decisions. Krause sums up the negative findings:

> . . . citizen participation is an ideology directed by the urban renewal agency toward the poor residents, in order to energize them to act in favor of the goals set by the urban renewal agency, even if they are against the material interests of the poor residents (37, p. 138).

Administrators' views are not as cynical. Luther Gulick, a pioneer in the science of public administration, laid a base in the 1930's: "History shows us that the common man is a better judge of his own needs in the long run than any cult of experts" (29, p. 11). Administrative theorists and practitioners in some numbers have adopted the view that facilitating participation will help get the job done (23) (65). But the pragmatic practitioners who hold this view see increased difficulty for large public organizations which operate oligarchically in the face of blacks no longer willing to sit and wait for a share in the wealth and power of the society, youth not willing to accept police brutality, parents demanding a voice in running the schools, and trade unions that want to have more say about wages and working conditions.

Strong proponents of this view are Mitchell Sviridoff of the Ford Foundation and Howard Hallman of the Center for Governmental Studies, both of whom have helped manage large public organizations. Sviridoff says bluntly that administrators ". . .have to accommodate. . .a new factor in the power equation. . . .The issue is no longer *whether* the community is to be involved, but *how*. . ." (68, p.9). Hallman spells out some of the gains from accepting and promoting participation: ". . .there is a practical reason for increased citizen participation in our cities. They cannot be governed otherwise" (30, p. 48). This pragmatic view recognizes participation as a process of importance, while generally asserting that it cannot exist and flourish without support and cooperation from the elite leaders of public organizations.

Best known of the theories involving external influence is classical democratic theory. It sees participation as a process "to increase the citizen's awareness of his moral and social responsibilities, reduce the danger of tyranny, and improve the quality of government" (77, p. 199). This view would seem to undergird the town meeting, the neighborhood-level government projects, district city councils, and the support of participation by altruistic elites concerned with improving citizenship, which includes among others the executives of some national foundations. Classic democratic theory is opposed by many behavior-oriented social scientists, who consider the political capacities of common citizens to be low and who fear instability or suppression of civil liberties if too many become activists.

Classical democratic theory was formulated by philosophers and statesmen of the 18th and 19th centuries, including Jean-Jacques Rousseau, John Stuart Mill, and Thomas Jefferson. Rousseau, for instance, claimed that in a well-conducted state, "everyone hastens to the assemblies; while under a bad government no one cares to move a step in order to attend them" (62, p. 186).

This theory is normative, being more a view of what could be rather than what is. A growing number of social scientists and practitioners have chosen sides on the question of the feasibility and usefulness of participation as defined in this essay. Leaning to the negative side have been Spiro Agnew (1), Alnond and Verba (2), Robert Dahl (21), Seymour Lipset (42), Daniel P. Moynihan (50), Mauk Mulder (51), Peter Rossi (60), B. F. Skinner (66), H. Ralph Taylor (69), and James Q. Wilson (85) among others. Tending to the positive side have been: Sherry Arnstein (4), Arthur Brazier (10), Alan Altshuler (3), Howard Hallman (30), Gunnar Myrdal (52), Carole Pateman (53), Robert Seave (65), Mitchell Sviridoff (68), Jack L. Walker (77), Roland L. Warren (79), and others.

The principal influences, internal and external, explaining the existence of participation have been sketched in bare outline here. Other essays in this issue supply cases and other data for testing these explanations, as well as analyses which further develop these theories.

Conclusion

Four issues of importance to the future of participation are access, time, federal support, and technology.

Access refers to opportunity to participate. This is what citizens are really after. They are not going to attend every forum and debate every question. But they want the right to do so. Universities, particularly, have learned this in recent years. Students have fought for, and sometimes obtained, access to decision making. However, most students utilize the opportunity only on rare occasions. The access remains important to them, and will be used in time of crisis. Full participation only exists where all members of a community or organization have relatively equal access to power.

Time is an essential ingredient. Generally it takes longer for hundreds or thousands to be involved in a decision than for eight to make it. In the past there have been instances where the decisions of the eight were not implemented because the mass of citizens had not had the opportunity to participate. Such situations are likely to multiply in the future. Time is a cost in participation and has to be reckoned with, but it may well be a declining cost.

Support from the federal government, a somewhat objective source far removed from the local battle ground, has been essential to the spread of participation since World War II. It has waned under the Nixon Administration. Its continued withdrawal could retard the future growth of participation, limited and full. If growth is to go on at a strong pace, a useful device would be a strong, independent federal agency whose sole jurisdiction is facilitating citizen participation at various levels. It would have to be an agency with power to promulgate, and insure implementation of, strong and consistent requirements for any governments or other organizations receiving federal funds. It might even offer aid to citizens in situations where federal funds are not involved. Perhaps it would best be governed by a commission whose members would be chosen from among wise common amateurs, and given protections similar to an ombundsman or Supreme Court justice (17, pp. 220-222). Even some public administrators have been calling for strong federal support for participation (56, pp. 222-223).

Technology could aid the growth of participation, perhaps even solving the "how do you get everybody in one big hall?" question. It may soon be possible for common amateurs to sit in their homes in front of a two-way, cable-TV screen, partake of issue discussion and consensus building, and then to press buttons to make a decision.

History seems to record an incessant struggle between the powerful and the powerless the elites and the common amateurs, for control over public affairs. Rising affluence, education, and urbanism in the United States in the last quarter century seems to have provided a climate conducive to an increase in the intensity of the struggle. Increasing efforts toward participation have been marked by federal support, resurgence of neighborhood focus, and initiative from black citizens, one of the most deprived groups in the nation.

Two major causes seem to underly the struggle. First, there is the obvious difference in self-interests. The powerful enjoy their power and the powerless would like to enjoy some. Beyond self-interest there is the structure of the society. It is constituted largely of systems of bureaucratic organizations, each of which tends pragmatically to concentrate power in the hands of a few leaders as the organization seeks to compete and grow.

The self-interest picture is not a simple one. Sometimes the interests of elites and amateurs merge. Elitist families as well as plebs in classical Athens perceived a richer environment from having their public life organized around the *Ecclesia* (9). Medieval lords found it convenient to have emancipated peasants carry some of the burden of controlling the towns. Some contemporary administrators find participation to be a process that helps their programs move, while some of those who resist it run into difficulty (19). For authentic participation to become widespread in the society, a closer convergence of interests seems essential (35).

As amateurs gain toe-holds in (and launch some of their own) organizations, exhibiting strength to the elites, the advantage of finding a mutuality of interests should impress itself upon more elites. As increased information, education, and experience raise the capacity of amateurs, their efficacy probably will increase (5), and so will their pressure to be included in.

As to the second cause, it is possible to foresee looser, less structured organizations, especially in a society less pressured by material needs and security. The leaderless organization, however, seems to be an unworkable approach in our time, although the reconciliation of interests might well be advanced by what Warren Bennis has called "post-bureaucratic leadership" (8). This would be a leadership more concerned with providing an organizational climate favorable to the development of the members than with the aggrandizement of personal power. Such leadership might provide essential functions by insuring that issues are identified, key questions are framed, alternatives presented, and decisions attempted periodically, but it would also insure access to the organization's decision making by all members.

Teilhard de Chardin foresees a society with a "...collective human *Weltanschauung* in which every one of us cooperates and participates..." (70, p. 259). If such comes about, it will be a society in which the self-interests of leaders and members will have converged, and a leadership-participation synthesis will have been achieved. Van Til and Van Til have described such a state as "pluralist participation," one in which elites and nonelites have made an accommodation of advantage to each (75).

Trends undoubtedly are toward more participation in the future, in spite of a recent lessening of support by the federal government. The question is how authentic future participation will be. The central struggle in time will not be between elites and nonelites, but between two kinds of participation, full and limited.

There will be pressure from throughout the society for all to have some access to power over organizational decisions, while doubters are going to be arguing for restricted expansion such as advisory committees and small boards of representatives. Their doubts are related to various arguments. Some are: amateurs are unqualified to decide many complex matters; participation causes delay; citizen goals can be achieved more efficiently in other ways; it wastes resources; it opens the way to corruption; it sacrifices regional and long range to the local and immediate; it alienates the Establishment from the poor; it generates conflict; participants are often unrepresentative; the masses usually turn out to be reactionary and negative. Almost all of these issues are fully treated in the other essays in this issue.

With certainty, more persons will be participating in at least a limited way in such forms as the citizen boards for neighborhood city halls and community corporations. Increases in full participation are yet uncertain, although the new thrusts for community control, for neighborhood government and wide-open political movements are in the direction of full participation. To nonelites, and some elites, most of the negative arguments are trivial when compared to the need to end the maldistribution of wealth and power in the society. Participation seems to be the one peaceful means left for doing this. They will push ahead.

References

1. Spiro T. Agnew, address to National League of Cities Luncheon, New Orleans, December 9, 1968, mimeo.
2. Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba, *The Civic Culture – Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1963).
3. Alan A. Altshuler, *Community Control – The Black Demand for Participation in Large American Cities* (New York: Pegasus, 1970).
4. Sherry Arnstein, "Ladder of Participation" in *American Institute of Planners Journal*, (July 1969), pp. 216-224.
5. David Austin, *The Politics of Participation*, manuscript to be published in 1973, chapter 1.
6. Michael J. Austin and Brian W. Klepinger, *Citizen Participation in Program Development and Implementation* (Denver: Community Planning and Development Council, 1968), pamphlet.
7. Jewel Bellush and Murray Haushnecht, "Planning, Participation, and Urban Renewal," in Bellush and Haushnecht (eds.), *Urban Renewal: People, Politics, and Planning* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1967), pp. 278-286.
8. Warren G. Bennis, "Post-Bureaucratic Leadership," *Trans-Action* (July/August 1969).
9. C. M. Bowra, *The Greek Experience* (New York: New American Library, 1957).
10. Arthur Brazier, *Black Self-Determination* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Erdmans, 1969).
11. Carl Bridenbaugh, *Cities in Revolt, 1743-1776* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1955).
12. Edmund Brunner and Hsin Yang, *Rural America and the Extension Service* (New York: Columbia University, 1949).
13. Gordon Childe, *What Happened in History* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1942 and 1964).
14. Grahame Clark and Stuart Piggott, *Prehistoric Societies* (London: Hutchinson, 1965).
15. Terrence E. Cook and Patrick M. Morgan, *Participatory Democracy* (San Francisco: Canfield Press, 1971).
16. Fustel De Coulanges, *The Ancient City* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1955), originally published, 1864.
17. James V. Cunningham, *Resident Participation*, a report to the Ford Foundation, 1967, mimeo.
18. ———, *The Resurgent Neighborhood* (Notre Dame, Ind.: Fides Publishers, 1965).
19. ———, *Urban Leadership in the Sixties* (Waltham, Mass.: Brandeis University, Lemberg Center for the Study of Violence, 1970).
20. Merle Curti, *The Making of an American Community* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1959).
21. Robert A. Dahl, "The City in the Future of Democ-

racy," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. LXI, No. 4 (December 1957), pp. 953-970.

22. ——, *Who Governs?* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961).
23. J. Clarence Davies, III, *Neighborhood Groups and Urban Renewal* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965).
24. Amitai Etzioni, *Modern Organizations* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1964).
25. Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York: Grove Press, 1963).
26. Burleigh B. Gardner and David G. Moore, *Human Relations in Industry* (Chicago: Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1950).
27. Paul Goodman, *Growing Up Absurd* (New York: Vintage Books, 1956).
28. Constance McLaughlin Green, *The Rise of Urban America* (New York: Harper, 1965).
29. Luther Gulick, "Notes on the Theory of Organization," in Luther Gulick and L. Urwick (eds.), *Papers on the Science of Administration* (New York: Institute of Public Administration, Columbia University, 1937).
30. Howard W. Hallman, "Citizen Participation in Urban Community Development," in *Urban Community Development Strategies* (Washington, D.C.: Center for Governmental Studies, 1972), pp. 44-58.
31. Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform*, (New York: Random House, 1955).
32. Orren C. Hormell, "Popular Assemblies," in *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (New York: Macmillan, 1934), pp. 236-239.
33. Housing and Home Finance Agency, *Workable Program for Community Improvement – Answers on Citizen Participation* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1962), pamphlet.
34. Norman J. Johnson and Edward J. Ward, *A New Approach to Citizen Participation: An Exploration Tying Information and Utilization* (Pittsburgh: Carnegie-Mellon University, School of Urban Affairs, 1970), pamphlet.
35. Arnold S. Kaufman, "Human Nature and Participatory Democracy, in William E. Connolly (ed.), *The Bias of Pluralism* (New York: Atherton, 1969).
36. Lincoln Kelsey and Cannon Hearne, *Cooperative Extension Work* (Ithaca: Comstock, 1963).
37. Elliott A. Krause, "Functions of a Bureaucratic Theology: Citizen Participation," in *Social Forces*, Vol. 16, No. 2 (Fall 1968), pp. 129-143.
38. Henry A. Landsberger, *Hawthorne Revisited* (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1958), chapter III.
39. Sar A. Levitan, *The Design of Federal Antipoverty Strategy* (Ann Arbor: Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, 1967).
40. Kurt Lewin, *Resolving Social Conflict* (New York: Harper, 1948), chapter 8.
41. Archibald R. Lewis, *Emerging Medieval Europe, A.D. 400-1000* (New York: Knopf, 1967).
42. Seymour M. Lipset, Martin A. Trow, and James S. Coleman, *Union Democracy: The Internal Politics of the International Typographical Union* (Garden City: Doubleday, Anchor Books, 1956).
43. Roy Lubove, *Twentieth Century Pittsburgh* (New York: Wiley, 1969).
44. Lynn Historical Society, *Records of Ye Towne Meetings of Lyn, 1691-1701/2* (Lynn, Mass.: Lynn Historical Society, 1949).
45. Charles A. McCoy and John Playford, *Apolitical Politics – A Critique of Behavioralism* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1967).
46. Herbert McClosky, "Political Participation" in *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, David L. Sills (ed.) (New York: Macmillan and the Free Press, 1968), pp. 252-265.
47. Peter Marris and Martin Rein, *Dilemmas of Social Reform* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1967).
48. Robert Michels, *Political Parties* (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1949).
49. C. Wright Mills, *The Power Elite* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956).
50. Daniel P. Moynihan, *Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding* (New York: The Free Press, 1969).
51. Mauk Mulder, "Power Equalization through Participation?" *Administrative Science Quarterly*, Vol. 16, No. 1 (March 1971), pp. 31-37.
52. Gunner Myrdal, *Beyond the Welfare State* (New York: Bantam Books, 1960).
53. Carole Pateman, *Participation and Democratic Theory* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1970).
54. Henri Pirenne, *Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Harvest Paperback, 1933).
55. Sumner Chilton Powell, *Puritan Village–The Foundation of a New England Town* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1963).
56. *Public Administration Review*, "Symposium on Neighborhoods and Citizen Involvement," Vol. 23, No. 3 (May/June 1972), pp. 189-223.
57. Werner Reist, *Switzerland–Life and Activity* (Zurich: Mensch and Arbeit, 1960).
58. Robert L. Reynolds, *Europe Emerges* (Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1961).
59. Arnold M. Rose, *The Power Structure – Political Process in American Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967).
60. Peter Rossi and Robert Dentler, *Politics of Urban Renewal* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1961).
61. ——, "Theory, Research, and Practice in Community Organization," in Ralph M. Kramer and Harry Specht (eds.), *Readings in Community Organization Practice* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1969), pp. 49-61.
62. Jean Jacques Rousseau, *The Social Contract*, Henry J. Tozer (trans.) (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1895).
63. Morton Rubin, *Organized Citizen Participation in Boston* (Boston: The Boston Urban Observatory, Boston University, 1971), mimeo.
64. Stanley E. Seashore, "Administrative Leadership and Organizational Effectiveness," in Rensis Likert and Samuel P. Hayes, Jr. (eds.), *Some Applications of Behavioral Research*, pp. 44-80.
65. Robert C. Seaver, "The Dilemma of Citizen Participation," in Hans B. C. Spiegel (ed.), *Citizen Participation in Urban Development*, Vol. I (Washington,

D.C.: Center for Community Affairs, NTL Institute for Applied Behavioral Science, 1969), pp. 61-71.

66. B. F. Skinner, *Beyond Freedom and Dignity* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1971).

67. Ronald H. Stone, *Reinbold Niebubr, Propbet to Politicians* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1972).

68. Mitchell Sviridoff, *Planning and Participation*, (New York: The Ford Foundation, 1969), pamphlet.

69. H. Ralph Taylor, "Citizen Participation in the Model Cities Program," in Hans B.C. Spiegel (ed.), *Citizen Participation in Urban Development*, Vol. II (Washington, D.C.: Center for Community Affairs, NTL Institute for Applied Behavioral Science, 1969).

70. Pierre Teilhard De Chardin, *Tbe Phenomenon of Man* (New York: Harper & Row, 1959).

71. Paul Tillich, *Love, Power, and Justice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1954).

72. Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, Vol. I (New York: Vintage Books, 1954).

73. Alvin Toffler, *Future Sbock* (New York: Random House, 1970).

74. Robert De Traz, *Switzerland – Land of Peace and Liberty* (Lausanne: OSEC Publications, 1949).

75. J. Van Til and S. B. Van Til, "Citizen Participation in Social Policy," *Social Problems* (Winter 1970), pp. 313-324.

76. Raymond Vernon, personal interview reported in Alan L. Otten, "Fragmented Power," *Wall Street Journal*, September 24, 1971.

77. Jack L. Walker, "A Critique of the Elitist Theory of Democracy," in Charles A. McCoy and John Playford (eds.), *Apolitical Politics* (New York: Crowell, 1957).

78. Roland L. Warren, *Perspectives on tbe American Community* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1966).

79. ———, "The Model Cities Program—Assumptions, Experience, Implications," paper presented at the Annual Forum Program, National Conference on Social Welfare, Dallas, Texas, May 17, 1971.

80. Max Weber, "Class, Status, and Power," in H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (eds.), *From Max Weber* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946).

81. Lynn White, Jr., *Medieval Tecbnology and Social Cbange* (London: Oxford Press, 1962).

82. Harold L. Wilensky and Charles N. Lebeaux, *Industrial Society and Social Welfare* (New York: The Free Press, 1958).

83. Robin M. Williams, Jr., *American Society: A Sociological Interpretation* New York: A.A. Knopf, 1951).

84. Chilton Williamson, *American Suffrage from Property to Democracy, 1760-1860* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1860).

85. James Q. Wilson, "Planning and Politics: Citizen Participation in Urban Renewal," in Roland Warren (1966), *op. cit.*

86. Coleman Woodbury (ed.), *Tbe Future of Cities and Urban Development* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1948).

87. Charles R. Wright and Herbert H. Hyman, "Voluntary Association Memberships of American Adults: Evidence from National Sample Surveys," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 23, No. 3 (June 1958), pp. 284-294.

7. How does J. V. Cunningham define citizen participation, elites, common amateurs, power, and decisions?

8. What is the "internal view" of participation?

9. What are the four issues of importance to the future of participation? And why is each important?

D. DESCRIPTION OF CITIZEN PARTICIPATION GROUPS

1. Strategies and Tactics:

Citizen participation efforts are often classified on the basis of the strategies selected by the group to pursue its goals. We shall define a "strategy" as any method or approach used to accomplish goals or to win a particular campaign. "Tactics" are those more specific activities which are used to carry out a strategy. In any case strategies and tactics are adopted to help the group achieve those goals which presumably have been discussed and given priority by the citizens. Three strategies frequently used are identified as: cooperative; competition; and conflict approaches. While any organization may use all three of these strategies or approaches over a period of time, one primary strategy may identify the organization. Tactics would be selected appropriate to that predominant strategy.

A "cooperative" strategy implies a position generally supportive of public officials. Groups adopting this strategy probably accept the right of public officials to make decisions and the appropriateness of the decisions made. A citizens group using a "cooperative" strategy might request street cleaning more frequently, a traffic light or a stop sign, or funds for a community project from public officials. The group may have high expectations of having its request considered and fulfilled.

Cooperative-type groups range from citizen advisory groups appointed by officials and generally rather uncritical of programs to community associations formed with the help of organizations paid by a governmental or quasi-governmental group. Resources are likely to come from "the system," and citizens hesitate to "bite the hand which feeds them." Activities may include endorsing projects, speaking at public hearings, and writing reports. This approach assumes good relationships with government. A cooperative group will discuss, negotiate, plan with, and advise an official or an agency but will resist stronger methods.

Other groups will be more independent and have no hesitancy in questioning "official" plans, proposals, projects, or programs. Some of the tactics such groups might select could be: contacting politicans to make sure they are aware of citizen feelings, lobbying, researching, preparing newspaper releases, and, ultimately, assembling masses of people to visit "city hall," packing public hearings, or sponsoring a mass meeting. In these days getting a hearing on television seems to be a potent means of getting one's point across.

Such an approach has been termed "competitive." The citizens recognize the legal authority of the public officials to plan and propose but suggest there may well be equally acceptable plans and alternatives. Sometimes such a citizens group is able to prepare and propose an alternative plan with appropriate evidence and strong citizen support.

Advocacy or pluralistic planning assumes that there are various alternatives to an official plan; in fact, proponents of pluralistic planning suggest "Republican" and "Democratic" plans, not just "official" plans or projects. So a neighborhood might propose its own plan for a project (say, a parking lot) and present this in competition with the city's proposal. Ultimately there will probably be a compromise acceptable to the politically-minded council! It must be recognized that while many citizens groups are opposed to all or parts of "official" plans, it is rare that a citizens group can muster the resources to prepare its own well-documented alternative plan. This is one reason why citizen participation is often considered "negative" or in opposition.

A third strategy makes use of confrontation tactics or conflict. Such measures may be chosen simply as a stragegy--i.e., the best way to accomplish the group's goals. Or, these methods may be picked in desperation: all other means have failed. Sometimes even "cooperative" groups use "confrontation" tactics because those seem to be the only way to get results. Such tactics include: striking, sit-ins, picketing, other demonstrations, boycotts, disturbances, disrupting meetings, parades, and other innovative activities. Conflict strategies do not advocate either illegal activities or violence; in fact, a serious problem for community groups using confrontation tactics is deciding how to react when police or other "officials" groups do use violence to put down the citizens.

The most vocal supporter of "radical" or disruptive techniques was the late Saul Alinsky now followed by members of the Industrial Areas Foundation. One of his disciples is Cesar Chavez of the United Farm Workers. Radical, to Alinsky, meant getting to the roots of problems. His organizers seek problems and issues which bother citizens; they organize protests on the basis of these issues; and they seek new and creative means of calling attention to injustices.

The "conflict" strategy questions either the legitimacy of official authority or the use of that authority. A primary goal of conflict strategy is to build power within citizen groups so that these may not only challenge official plans but win the right to make decisions affecting the community.

2. Types of Organizations

Another way of classifying citizen participation is by the type of organization. There are many categories or types of citizens' organizations. Groups can be classified by the interests shown, as for example hobby groups, outdoor activity groups, conservation or nature-loving groups, sport enthusiasts, or indoor recreation types. Another way of classifying groups is according to their member-selection process. Is the group based upon a particular geographic area, or on a special interest or concern? Does the group require special attributes or employment to belong, or is its membership open to all? Some organizations are based on circumstances of birth: ethnic, racial, or sex-based groups. Organizations can be typed according to the breadth of membership so we note international organizations, nationwide groups, state, county, community, or neighborhood association. Some organizations are "issue-oriented", and focus mainly on pressing concerns of an area; others are "serivce-oriented", seeking to render assistance to neighbors on a continuing basis. The following "types" of citizen groups cover some of the broad aspects of citizen participation in relation to municipal and community concerns.

Community organization is a label covering a broad spectrum of groups and their activities. Included would be: block clubs, neighborhood organizations, district or community councils, associations of councils, community improvement groups, and city-wide coalitions. These groups normally have a geographical limit and focus. "Functional" groups such as taxpayers associations, League of Women Voters, Parent-Teacher Associations, and environmental groups represent another type of community organization. Community organizations may be made up entirely of citizens or volunteers; some have professional "organizers." Schools of social work train such organizers for geographical groups, functional organizations, and official agencies. Normally, community organizations adopt "cooperative" strategies in their dealings with officials.

Community development is a related concept and includes groups which may be quite similar to community organizations They focus on community change and improvement and are generally associated with the "Third World" or developing countries. Peace Corps activities were frequently community development efforts. The same approaches have been utilized in the United States and Canada, especially in (a) rural areas and (b) in deprived city areas. Vista Volunteers, the domestic equivalent to Peace Corps Volunteers, generally do community development work. The Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) program sponsored community development efforts also. Self-help programs generally fall into this category, and most such groups adopt a "cooperative" strategy.

Citizen Advisory Groups or Committees are generally encouraged by official agencies. In fact, legislation often required that advisory groups be formed. A 1954 federal law mandated citizen participation in the urban renewal program; "maximum feasible participation" was a catchword in OEO legalation; Model Cities and many other programs stipulate citizen involvement today. The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) has approximately 90 major programs which call for some form of citizen participation. Today, HEW has almost 4,000 citizens serving on 338 advisory committees. As is to be expected, these groups are characterized by a "cooperative" strategy.

Social action groups have as their focus institutional changes with respect to the distribution of power, resources, and service. These groups often begin with a sense of values or concerns at variance with existing values or practices. Religious groups, conservation groups, or peace associations are typical of "social action" organizations.

Social action groups tend to run the gamut of the strategies and tactics suggested above. With their demands for reform and immediate action to alleviate pressing problems, action groups may start in a "cooperative" stance, move quickly to a "competitive" position because of their alternative proposals, and, because of the intransigence of the establishment, switch to "conflict" strategies. The anti-Vietnam groups epitomize social action organizations.

Political organizations are volunteer citizen groups. Like community organizations, they range from the smallest geographical areas (blocks or precincts) up through wards, cities, counties, to national coalitions in election years. Working through existing political structure, most political groups and parties tend to be "cooperative" or "competitive." Splinter parties, on the other hand, may adopt "confrontation" stances. Examples of the latter may be drawn from the 1968 or 1972 Democratic conventions. Note, however, that in Chicago it was the "establishment" that rioted and used violent techniques and not the "out-groups."

Radical groups, with the goal of overthrowing a particular government, clearly represent the "conflict" strategy. Yet, in Italy and France today the Communist parties are clearly cooperating with government and seeking to win votes by renouncing violence and conflict.

Civil rights organizations have tended to use a range of strategies from cooperation to competition and then to civil disobedience (marches, sitting in the "wrong" section of the bus, sit-ins, boycotts, and other forms of protest). Such groups provide another demonstration that is is risky to label citizen groups by their "typical" strategy. Most organizers would probably recommend fitting tactics and strategies to the specific situation and carefully selecting the means to achieve each goal.

A recent study of political power in poor neighborhoods concludes: "Rigorous empirical testing [proves that] in cities of all types, nationwide, political mobilization at the neighborhood level does bring about change in local institutions."[5] Many observers feel that the War on Poverty (OEO) program was shut down by the Nixon Administration not because it was a failure but precisely because it was succeeding in mobilizing citizens and making them effective against entrenched power.

3. Interrelationships: Strategies and Types of Community Organizations

Recognizing the caveat above, that citizen groups often select tactics and strategies to fit their goals and that it is risky to identify certain organizations with a particular strategy, it may still be useful to provide a chart with some suggestions along the line of interrelationships. The following chart suggests these relationships.

Types of Organizations	Strategies	Tactics
Community Organizations	Cooperation; cross-section of the community involved in selecting goals, strategies, and tactics.	Consensus; working thru official agencies; petitons; compromise. Limited use of power.
Community Development	Cooperation; occasional "competitive" suggestions. Self-determination of people, their involvement in selecting projects and community improvement plans.	Collaboration; open communication; fitting into regional plans; requests, proposals, little use of power, but the "authority" of a united community.
Citizen Advisory Groups	Cooperative; little power. Authority of expertise or representativeness.	Major "power" - the withholding of approval. Persuasion, compromise.
Social Action Groups	Competition: organizing concerned citizens around particular issues. Advocacy of alternative means and ends.	Demonstrations of power; often "represent" larger, less "vocal" public. Arousing public concerns. May use emotional issues.
Political Organizations	Cooperation; achieving ends through voting and within the "system." Competition among parties.	Letter-writing; public relations; person-to-person contact; voting; power of legitimate authority (officies, legislation, etc).
Radical Groups	Conflict; direct opposition to existing authority or to its decisions. Development of power.	Disruptive tactics; picketing, strikes, demonstrations, creative actions; guerilla theatre.

Citizen participation can also have various "levels" in practice, ranging from non-participation through tokenism to citizen control. While none of the levels is "pure" and, again, one group may be resting on several of the rungs of the ladder, the scaling of levels of participation is useful. Sherry Arnstein has suggested the following "ladder of citizen participation."

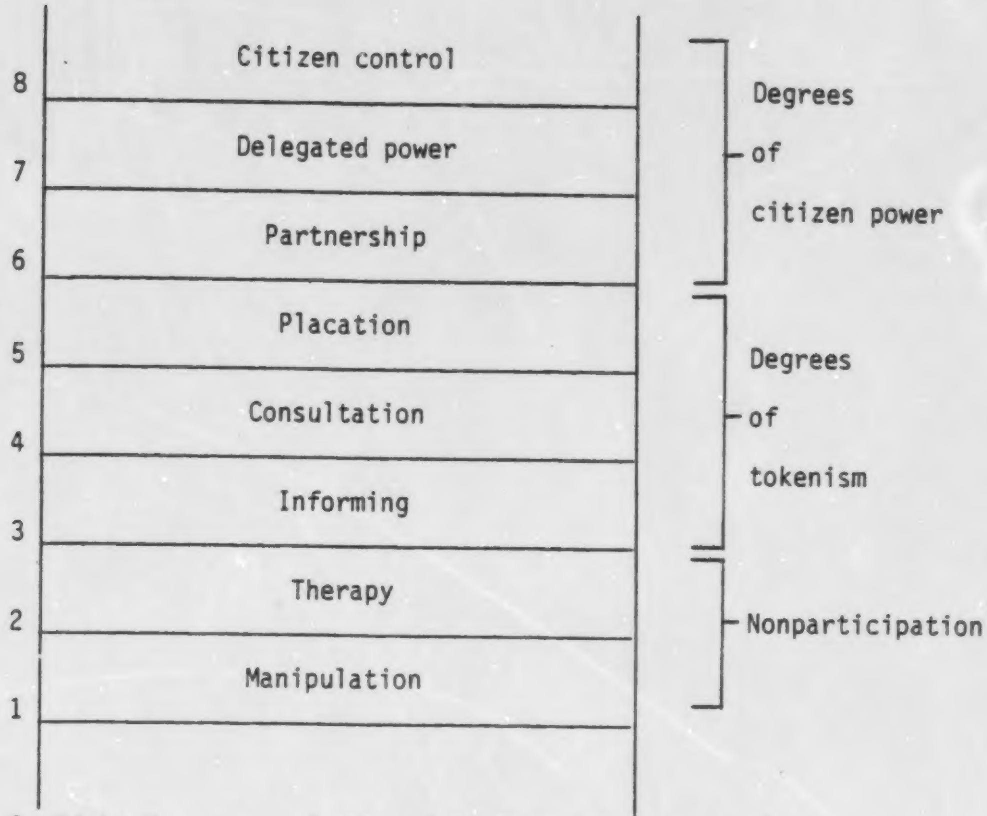

8
Citizen control
7
Delegated power
6
Partnership
5
Placation
4
Consultation
3
Informing
2
Therapy
1
Manipulation
Degrees of citizen power
Degrees of tokenism
Nonparticipation

Figure 2 *Eight Rungs on a Ladder of Citizen Participation*[6]

Briefly, each of the "rungs on a ladder of citizen participation" may be described as follows:

Manipulation - This is a form of "non-participation" where people are used more for public relations purposes than for their contributions. Many "advisory" groups really educate or try to persuade the citizens rather than the other way around.

Therapy - The citizens are seen as "ill", and so are aided in adjustment to the status quo, rather than the social institutions themselves being corrected.

Informing - One-way communication occurs which at least does let citizens know their rights and sometimes plans and proposals, but no way of influencing the plans is established.

Consultation - Citizens are asked for their ideas and opinions through devices like attitude surveys and neighborhood meetings, but they still have little power to affect either the kinds of information or the use made of it.

Placation - Some "token" members of the community are placed on a board, or limited concessions are made to citizens. Basically, people are being planned for; but it is recognized that they exist!

Partnership - Citizens and powerholders negotiate and share planning and decision-making responsibilities. They may use such structures as joint policy boards, planning committees, or other means of resolving disagreements. The citizens actually have a role and a modicum of power.

Delegated Power - By contract or less formal agreement citizens are allowed to make decisions in certain planning or program areas; they may be allowed to make policy, hire or fire some staff, or carry out some functions, but the citizens remain under the control of a governmental organization.

Citizen Control - This is best illustrated by a neighborhood school board, a community corporation, or a citizens organization which can develop, operate, and control specific services. Such groups can be said to have power and control. Nevertheless, like most social groups, there may be an ultimate veto power: city council, for example.

10. Explain under what circumstances you think it would be appropriate to use a

    a. cooperative strategy -

    b. competitive strategy -

    c. conflict strategy -

d. combination of the three strategies -

11. Complete this table by listing tactics appropriate to each strategy in their respective columns.

	Strategy		
	Cooperative	Competitive	Conflict
TACTICS	1.	1.	1.
	2.	2.	2.
	3.	3.	3.
	4.	4.	4.
	5.	5.	5.

12. Relate various "types" of citizen participation to the strategies each tends to use.

13. Based on the readings, state what has been found to be the practical effect of neighborhood level action groups.

14. From your own experience and from these readings, what are the difficulties in categorizing "participation" as Arnstein does? Can you suggest other ways of categorizing "participation"?

E. A CASE STUDY: GASP

PITTSBURGH--A "BREATHERS' LOBBY"

On September 9, 1969, the Pennsylvania Air Pollution Commission held a public hearing in Pittsburgh to consider air pollution control standards. The hearing had been scheduled for a small state office, but when nearly 500 people showed up, startled officials hastily moved the meeting to a large auditorium.

The outpouring of concerned citizens was no accident. Prior to that public hearing, a series of citizen workshops had been held in many cities across the country on air pollution problems and ways to combat them. The educational sessions were organized and sponsored by the League of Women Voters, affiliates of the National Tuberculosis and Respiratory Disease Association, the Conservation Foundation and other organizations.

Attending the workshops were representatives of professional, labor, health, civic, women's, consumer, conservation, youth, minority, ethnic, religious, political and industrial groups. Generally they stimulated the formation of a citizen's coalition or coordinating committee in each city to carry on the fight for clean air.

Pittsburgh was to have been one of those cities, but the state hearing was announced before the workshop could be held. Nevertheless, citizen leaders had been alerted. When the state made its proposed air quality standards available for public review in advance of the hearing, Pittsburgh citizens were prepared. The proposed standards were carefully analyzed—and found wanting. A particular target was the Commission's proposal to allow an annual average level for particulate matter of 100 micrograms per cubic meter of air, with a long-range goal of 80 micrograms. Citizens noted with dismay that available evidence showed that the death rate increased in the over-50 age group when perticulate levels exceeded 80 micrograms in the presence of sulfur dioxide.

Public reaction was immediate. The governor and the state commission were deluged with letters of protest. Legislators were contacted. A bipartisan group of 14 congressmen wrote to the governor, urging him to reconsider the proposed standards.

Citizen pressure continued at the public hearing and after. Within a few days the governor asked the state commission to reconsider its proposed standards. It did so—and the standards were upgraded substantially. The annual average for particulate matter, for example, was set at 65 micrograms per cubic meter—far below the 100 micrograms originally proposed.

It was a clear victory for what the *Wall Street Journal* described as "a curious coalition of unionists, conservationists, health societies, ladies' garden clubs and college-age militants—the so-called breathers' lobby."

But that was only the beginning. Shortly after the public hearing, 43 people who had participated formed a new citizen organization—GASP, the Group Against Smog and Pollution.

Fresh from the victory over the state standards, GASP set out to strengthen the county air pollution code. It succeeded. Then the group went to work to assure that the variance board established by the new regulations would be composed of people representing a wide variety of interests. GASP sent out some 60 letters with questionnaires, interviewed applicants and made recommendations to the county commissioners who appoint the board members. It succeeded again: four of the five members named to the board were people recommended by GASP.

Since then, GASP members have been named to environmental advisory boards at both the county and state levels. At variance board hearings GASP has officially intervened on behalf of the public and backed up with its own scientific committee and other technical resources provided by its members, has cross-examined industry representatives.

GASP has not only prodded and goaded the county air pollution control agency, but supported it as well. It studied the agency's salary scale and when it found salaries were below national averages, the group sparked a campaign for increases which will allow the agency to attract and keep competent staff members.

GASP operates its own complaint department; it forwards citizen complaints to the control agency and keeps track of action taken.

GASP conducts an extensive education program. Through its speakers bureau, it tells the pollution story throughout the county. It conducts seminars for students, teachers, the clergy and the general public. It distributes information kits and sponsors guided tours of "pollution land" in the Pittsburgh area.

GASP also publishes educational materials. It identifies major polluters by name and tells what is being done about them. It refutes what it calls "ecological pornography"—false information issued by polluters—and gives "awards" to major polluters.

The impact of this citizen group can be measured by these facts: Allegheny County (the Pittsburgh area) has one of the most stringent air pollution control codes in the nation and one of the most effective pollution control agencies. Most polluters in the area are on planned compliance schedules and most are meeting their commitments. Polluters who fail to take corrective measures face the prospect that GASP will take them to court as it has already done in one instance.

GASP explains its basic approach: "We work within the system in a responsible manner. We do not ask the impossible. But we demand compliance at the earliest possible moment within the state of the art of pollution control."

15. What factors helped bring about the citizen's victory on proposed standards of air quality?

16. Would you identify the strategy of GASP as: cooperation, competition, or conflict? Why?

17. List the elements in GASP's program which you would consider essential in any effective participation program.

F. CITIZEN INVOLVEMENT: CHALLENGE/RESPONSE

The following Challenge/Response paper on Citizen Involvement was prepared for the American Revolution Bicentennial Administration with the support of the Department of Housing and Urban Development. The first section, Challenge, discusses citizen participation in America and helps to justify our concern for involvement. The second part, Response, provides many case studies of effective citizen action. This paper provides such a complementary perspective to this module that it is included in its entirety.

CHALLENGE

Abraham Lincoln's vision of "government of, by, and for the people" sometimes seems remote in this age of vast, impersonal bureaucracies and giant, multi-national corporations which control an increasing portion of our lives. Many of us feel powerless to affect the public policies and decisions that directly influence our lives. This feeling is founded in the hard fact that, alone, a single individual _is_ virtually powerless. The traditional tools of citizen involvement--the vote, the right to petition, and volunteer service work--are still valid, but increasingly it is necessary for citizens to band together and to take an aggressive stance in order to make their presence felt.

One of the most important political issues facing our country today is the responsiveness of government and other institutions to the will of the people. Our Republic was established on the principle of government by the consent of the governed, but many people feel that today this is not the case. Our institutions seem not to serve the people, but rather to exist to promote their own interests. The anger and frustration which many citizens feel as a result of their inability to impact "the system" has often resulted in the formation of special interest groups whose purpose is to advance the shared concerns of its membership.

This citizen attitude of anger and frustration has forced changes throughout our political institutions. State legislatures are adopting "sunshine laws" to open up committee and caucus deliberations to review and participation by involved citizens and other interested groups. Federal agencies are establishing consumer affairs offices. Groups representing citizens, like Common Cause, The League of Women Voters, and the Center for the Study of Responsive Law, have reached national prominence in influencing legislation, elections, and government regulations. Perhaps even more significantly, in recent years more than 2,500 community groups have been formed across the country to challenge the priorities and plans of regional and local government, as well as to provide solutions to community problems through volunteer services.

Citizen involvement, embodied in the consumer movement, environmental protection, historic preservation, and a host of other areas, is alive and well in America. Not only are citizens working through and within "the system," but in some cases they have met that same system in head-on confrontations, and won.

CITIZEN INVOLVEMENT IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS

An increasingly important challenge for communities is the recognition that involved, concerned, and committed citizens are not only an integral part of the local decisionmaking process, but are a significant community resource. The rights to petition government and to organize to solve problems, however, are equally important and may have an even greater bearing on our ability to affect the course of public policymaking. Testifying at hearings on Federal regulations, monitoring the implementation of public laws, and evaluating government policy are areas of increased citizen activity.

The right to petition, by itself, is not a guarantee of success, or even of being heard. As many citizens have discovered, a firmly entrenched and powerful political system often reacts only when sufficient force can be rallied behind a petition to move that political system off dead-center.

When committed citizens seek each other out and form a group to decide on a course of action and pursue it collectively, they can have a great deal of influence on a community. Such groups represent a significant bloc of voters, and their ability to pool financial resources enables them to persevere in efforts which can outlast individual endeavors. More important, this collective political and economic clout, when exercised by groups of committed citizens, can help equalize the power of traditional political and economic interests.

When we organize in a group, we are better able to identify and direct the priorities for government action in our community. We are better able to target issues of specific concern, and help mobilize the resources to confront them. Today, numerous citizens groups are working in alliance and forming citizen coalitions to impact upon public decisionmaking.

SOLVING COMMUNITY PROBLEMS

Local governments are also challenged to respond creatively to the willingness of involved citizens to serve the community. Local organizations like the Lions, Jaycees, Kiwanis, and Rotary, have provided important community services for years. But many committed citizens want to serve their communities more directly. Many people are anxious to serve on planning councils and advisory boards so that they can participate in community and economic development decisions. Others want to call attention to help solve specific problems of crime, drug abuse, or health care. The particular issues may not be as important as the fact that local governments are being successfully challenged today to broaden their decisionmaking processes. These local bodies are beginning to recognize the influence and determination of citizens groups, and to develop mechanisms that allow citizen access to and participation in the decisionmaking process.

Despite a good deal of rhetoric about citizen apathy and low voter turnouts, in every part of the country there are examples of committed citizens who are proving that they can be an effective resource in solving community problems.

RESPONSE

There are two basic opportunities for citizen involvement in our communities: participation in local and even national political processes and volunteer service in community problem-solving. The two often overlap and interrelate, but the distinction is a useful one for discussion purposes. Citizen involvement is central to nearly every aspect of community life. If our communities are to function properly and be responsive to our needs, it is essential that significant numbers of citizens take an active and aggressive interest in the affairs of our community.

PLANNING AND GOAL-SETTING

Dimensions for Charlotte-Mecklenburg, located in Charlotte, North Carolina, is a not-for-profit organization which encourages maximum citizen participation in community planning. Formed in 1973, Dimensions for Charlotte-Mecklenburg brought together 100 citizens to prepare a series of essays proposing community goals in such areas as transportation, health, public security, education, and cultural activities. These essays serve as the focal point for a community-wide discussion involving more than 3,100 people in 30 area locations. These discussions identified 105 goals for the community to pursue, and task forces were then created to identify ways to accomplish these goals. Some goals have already been met, and further implementation is proceeding, with the approval and cooperation of both the citizens and public officials of Charlotte.

In Marshall, Minnesota, a 67-member group called the Citizens Countyside Council represents a 19-county area in a similar planning and goal-setting process. The Countyside Council is part of an ongoing program known as "Challenge in the Countyside," which defines and develops new strategies to improve the quality of life in the rural communities surrounding Marshall. Using task forces, written reports, and public meetings, the Council has involved a great many of the area's 350,000 people in the goal-setting process. Four years after it was established, the Council has fulfilled some of its initial goals: mini-bus service to Minnesota's rural counties, a college scholarship program for people 25 years of age or older, and the formation of a non-profit regional arts and humanities organization.

Both of the above examples demonstrate the need for broad community support and involvement in the planning and goal-setting process. There are two important benefits which result from including our citizens in this process: 1. An accurate and strong consensus is obtained and 2. Active involvement in the planning phases creates a strong commitment to implementation.

CITIZEN INVOLVEMENT IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS

Once a community's planning and goal-setting has been completed, the implementation phase almost inevitably calls for citizen involvement in the political process. The right to petition government is clearly recognized in the First Amendment to the Constitution. That right provides individuals and groups of citizens with a guarantee of direct access to government at all levels. To enforce this guarantee, citizens have often found it necessary to form public interest organizations. Groups such as Goals for Dallas, the Cleveland Heights Association, and ACORN (Arkansas Community Organizations for Reform Now) have involved themselves heavily in the political process to address problems or goals which they feel are important.

These groups have become adept at employing a variety of techniques to leverage the effectiveness of citizen involvement. These include the use of local media to publicize issues and gain support, strong attendance at public hearings, aggressive participation in legislative matters, even the staging of demonstrations. In many instances, community groups have attained a status which makes them stronger than even corporations, labor unions, and traditional special interests in influencing governmental decisions. In Salem, Oregon, for example, nine neighborhood groups have replaced business interests as the dominant political force in the city's government. In California, voters groups organized to create a Fair Political Practices Commission. Despite strong opposition from corporations and labor unions, 70% of the voters approved the citizen-generated law creating a Commission which, among other things, enforces a $10-a-month limit on gifts from any lobbyist to any legislator or government official.

In Pittsburgh an organization called GASP (Group Against Smog and Pollution) has succeeded in improving air quality in the Pittsburgh area, through the skillful use of publicity and political power. Supported by a broad range of citizens who contribute both time and money, GASP has assembled an interdisciplinary team of scientists, lawyers, doctors, teachers, economists, union workers, and large numbers of concerned citizens who work through established County government channels to accomplish their goals. GASP's efforts have been rewarded by the enactment of one of the toughest air quality codes in the country.

Alaskan Indians of the Tlingit and Haida tribes formed a Central Council to meet the needs of their 15 isolated communities for greater representation in a better coordination with the political system. The Council focuses its political efforts on improving the economic and social conditions of the tribes by utilizing such Federal self-help programs as Volunteers in Service to America.

Some community governments, recognizing their citizens' increasing desire to involve themselves directly in the decisions which affect their lives, have established new mechanisms for citizen input and involvement. The Twin Cities Metropolitan Council in St. Paul, Minnesota, is responsible for regional coordination and planning in the seven-county Minneapolis-St. Paul area, a region containing about half the state's population. The Council has made a concentrated effort to involve residents by instituting over 300 local government units, as well as numerous citizen advisory boards and committees. The Twin Cities Metropolitan Council one of the nation's most radical experiments in urban government, but many other local governments have recognized the need for greater citizen participation. They have responded by opening up the political process to citizens and citizens groups which had previously been excluded, and by making their actions and deliberations more public.

SOLVING YOUR COMMUNITY'S PROBLEMS

Our communities can also tap a rich resource of citizen involvement to solve the problems and needs which we all face. There is a long history of citizen involvement in community service organizations, but in recent years a great many special purpose councils, boards, and committees created and administered by concerned citizens have involved large numbers of people and have had a substantial impact on our communities. Usually these groups are formed to solve a particular problem, but often they remain in existence after the problem is solved, turning their attention to other concerns of their membership.

In rural Louisiana, 90,000 impoverished sugarcane workers live in conditions which have not improved significantly since the Civil War. In 1969 a group of experienced social workers, many of them veterans of the civil rights struggle, formed the Southern Mutual Help Association. Under the direction of Sister Anne Catherine Bizalion, a Dominican nun, the Association has organized the sugarcane workers into a strong political and economic force. Over the past six years the workers have achieved a sense of identity and many of them have joined in the struggle to win wage increases, attract outside funding and volunteer help, and upgrade living conditions. The Mutual Help Association demonstrates the sense of hope which citizen involvement can give to even oppressed and disadvantaged communities.

An equally successful solution of community problems through citizen involvement has been achieved by The Patch, Inc. located in a decaying neighborhood in Atlanta, Georgia, called Cabbagetown. The Patch was created to channel community concern about poor housing, low-paying jobs, and inadequate schools into active problem-solving programs. The Patch's first project was the creation of a children's resource and learning center. Since then, The Patch has expanded its activities to include community planning which involved residents in charting the future of their community. The goals of The Patch are not greatly different from many other community self-help programs, but the impetus for and the continuing energy which sustains The Patch sprang from Cabbagetown itself; the entire project is "homegrown."

East Los Angeles is a community of 250,000 Chicanos with many of the usual inner-city problems--crime, unemployment, and substandard housing. The East Los Angeles Community Union (TELACU) was established in 1968 by the Office of Economic Opportunity as the first community development corporation in California. Relying heavily on volunteer support from within the community, TELACU has harnessed Chicano pride and energy to solve the community's problems. TELACU's first project involved modernizing and upgrading much of the area's deteriorating housing. Since it has created programs to provide social services, health care, language classes, counseling, and recreational facilities to the community. The involvement of countless citizens has helped to change the mood of isolation and apathy in the Chicano community to one of aggressive pride.

Similar programs of citizen involvement in community problem solving are thriving in Boston, where the Roxbury Action Program (RAP) is successfully revitalizing a black ghetto; in Chicago, where the Woodlawn Organization supervises real estate and economic development and provides a broad range of social services; and in Baltimore where the Southeast Community Organization, a multi-ethnic coalition originally formed around opposition to freeway expansion, now carries on redevelopment efforts in one of the oldest parts of the city. In nearly every case where the commitment and energy of the citizens of a community have been mobilized, the solution of their common problems has been achieved.

An unusual example of citizen involvement is the industry-sponsored Allegheny West Community Development Project in Philadelphia. Shortly after an extensive plant modernization and expansion, the Tasty Baking Company realized that the neighborhood around its plant was becoming a slum. To counter the trend, the company formed a non-profit, publicly supported foundation which provides the funding and impetus for the Project. The Project's scope is unusually broad, including education, jobs, land use planning, recreation, and housing rehabilitation for the more than

23,000 residents of the area. Encouraged by the company's concern, the residents have rallied, donating their time and efforts to improving their community.

The Inner City Auto Repair and Training Center in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, is another innovative approach to citizen involvement. Housed in an abandoned gas station rented for $1 a year, the Center provides frustrated inner city teenagers with a constructive energy outlet and customers with low-cost auto repair. Experienced mechanics teach and work with neighborhood kids, and about 200 teenagers a month drop in to work, swap parts, or talk about cars. The training center concept is easily adaptable in many other communities.

Citizen involvement in crime prevention can be extremely effective. Sparked by the murder of a retired school teacher by a young dropout 14 years ago, the Anti-Crime Crusade in Indianapolis, Indiana, organized woman power to combat crime. One of the Crusade's first efforts resulted in the successful return of 2,000 dropouts to school. Next was a court-watcher program which led to a dozen reforms in court procedures followed by a successful campaign to install 12,000 new street lights in Indianapolis. Over the years more than 60,000 women have been involved in the Crusade. Today the Crusade oversees the efforts of 2,500 block clubs which encourage citizen responsibility in crime prevention. The Anti-Crime Crusade is nationally recognized as a model of concerted citizen effort, a low cost, high commitment program with a particularly successful approach to mobilizing the support of citizens, community leaders, and the media.

The involvement of citizens and the community at large is also instrumental in the success of the New Directions Club, Inc. in Houston, Texas. New Directions is a non-profit organization which operates nine halfway houses for ex-convicts in Harris and Galveston counties. The usual services--drug therapy and vocational training--are offered, but perhaps even more important to the readjustment process is the support of the communities in which the halfway houses are located. After initial fears are quieted, community residents often act as an extended family, helping with employment and inviting the ex-offenders into their homes. The success of New Directions can be partially measured by the low recidivism rate: less than 5% of the program participants return to criminal behavior, far less than the statewide average of 22%.

The opportunities for citizen involvement are many and varied: from a single individual extending a helping hand to someone less fortunate, to group action to influence the political process. Whatever form it takes, citizen involvement benefits both the community and the individual and, in a very real sense, it is the key to solving the common problems of our communities.

SUMMARY

This paper has presented The Challenge, a brief overview of citizen involvement issues, and The Response, a series of successful community solutions to citizen involvement problems. We hope that this information will spur discussion of those issues most relevant to the development of citizen involvement in your community. To enhance the usefulness of this paper, we have attached a list of questions, a bibliography, and a sampling of groups that are active in the field. The questions are not intended to be exhaustive and should be viewed as a starting point for further discussion. The bibliography contains publications which have been chosen both for their utility and easy availability. The list of groups may be useful in obtaining additional information on a particular topic or community project.

The most lasting benefit of the Challenge/Response papers will be the participation of the greatest possible number of people in a searching examination of the issues which affect our communities and our lives. This paper represents one way to begin that process, a process which is a part of the continuing American Revolution.

QUESTIONS

- What are the major political and social problems in our community? Are there effective organizations in our community which involve citizens in solving these problems? How can we help them achieve their goals?

- If our local organizations are not living up to their potential, can we create new groups to help solve our community problems?

- Should we call upon national citizen involvement organizations for advice and assistance in forming new community groups?

- Have we taken advantage of our potentially powerful political and economic influence to help equalize the power of traditional political and economic interests in our community?

- Can our local community service and volunteer groups be made more effective and responsive to the needs of our community? What can we do to assist them in their problem-solving programs?

- Has our local government responded to our desires for increased citizen involvement by opening up its committee and caucus deliberations to citizen participation? If not, what steps can we take to insure that our local officials are responsive to our needs?

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Alinsky, Saul D. Rules For Radicals, A Practical Primer For Realistic Radicals. New York: Random House, 1971. Explains the basic concepts necessary to achieve radical action.

Greifer, Julian L., ed. Community Action for Social Change, A Casebook of Current Projects. New York: Praeger, 1974. A sample of community projects designed as a guide for community leaders.

Human Resources Network. How To Get Money For: Youth, The Elderly, The Handicapped, Women and Civil Liberties. Radnor, Pa.: Chilton Book Co., 1975. Enables individuals and groups to become familiar with funding organizations and how they work.

Kahn, Si. How People Get Power. New York: McGraw Hill, 1970. Organizing oppressed communities, written for community organizers, includes experiences from the rural South.

Lasson, Kenneth. Proudly We Hail. New York: Grossman Pub., 1975. Profiles of public citizens in action. Prepared by a Ralph Nader research group.

Mac Kenzie, Donal F. The Community and the Criminal. Wellington, New Zealand: A. R. Shearer Printer, 1971.
Discussions of the community use of volunteer probation officers.

Michael, James R., ed. with Fort, Ruth C. Working on The System: A Comprehensive Manual for Access to Federal Agencies. New York: Basic Books, 1974.
A guide for where to go with consumer and other problems, prepared by a Ralph Nader study group.

Shanholtzer, Anita. "Eleven Tips For Successful Street Lighting Campaigns." American City, September, 1974, pp. 62-3.
Leaders tell how a municipal government can enlist the constructive support of citizens groups.

Strauss, Bertram W. and Stowe, Mary E. How To Get Things Changed. New York: Doubleday, 1974.
Handbook for community problems, emphasizes local effort through meetings and conferences.

"War on Crime, By Fed-Up Citizens." U.S. News and World Report. September 29, 1975, pp. 19-22.
Describes volunteers aiding police in the fight against crime.

Williams, Roger M. "The Rise of Middle Class Activism: Fighting City Hall." Saturday Review, March 8, 1975, pp. 12-16.
Describes the growth of public interest groups.

18. Would you say this document supports a strategy of cooperation, competition, or conflict? Defend your selection of strategy with reasons.

19. Examine at least three of the illustrations of effective participation described in the document "Citizen Involvement" and determine: a. the type of problem or problems which the organization solved; b. the type of strategy it used (i.e., cooperation, competition, or conflict); and c. the level of participation related to The Ladder of Participation.

20. Consider the questions on pages 2.47-2.48 of the original document, applying them to your own community.

FOOTNOTES

1. Desmond M. Connor, Citizens Participate: An Action Guide for Public Issues (Oakville, Ontario: Development Press, 1974), p. 7.

2. Ibid., p. 8.

3. Ibid., pp. 8-9.

4. James V. Cunningham, "Alternative Theories of Participation" (class syllabus, University of Pittsburgh, Winter 1971).

5. Curt Lamb, Political Power in Poor Neighborhoods (Cambridge, MA: Schenkman, 1975), p. XVI.

6. Sherry Arnstein, "Ladder of Citizen Participation," Journal of the American Institute of Planners (July 1969): 217.

7. Ibid., pp. 216-224.

ASSIGNMENT

The following questions should be answered as completely as possible on separate paper. Two copies of your responses should be mailed to the instructor. One copy will be returned to you with the instructor's comments and the other will be retained as part of your course record.

Select an organization to which you belong to use as the basis of this assignment. While it may be any kind of citizens' organization, read through thr entirety of the assignment before making your selection to ensure that your organization will offer a vehicle for the discussion of citizen participation. (Examples of organizations from which you might choose are: League of Women Voters, a black club, a union or professional society, a sportsman's club, a veterans' organization, a community organization, a church group, the PTA, or an advisory committee.) Then write out answers to the following three parts.

1. Describe the organization you have selected in enough detail so that a reader can understand its purposes, activities, and type of leadership.

2. Describe how the organization participates in public decision-making. This includes:

- *What are its objectives which relate to public issues?*
- *What strategy and tactics does the organization use to accomplish its objectives?*
- *Are most members of the organization involved in helping to shape public decisions or only a few?*
- *Do you consider the organization to be one which encourages citizen participation in generally or one which primarily seeks to achieve its own objectives by means of citizen participation?*
- *Explain how the organization relate to the public officials in the community and how they, in turn, communicate with and demostrate accountability to the citizens via the organization.*

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Alinsky, Saul. Reveille for Radicals. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946.

Alinsky, Saul. Rules for Radicals. New York: Random House, 1971.

Arnstein, Sherry. "Ladder of Citizen Participation." Journal of the American Institute of Planners (July 1969): 216-224.

Benello, C. George and Roussopoulos, Dimitrios. The Case for Participatory Democracy. New York: Grossman Publishers, 1971.

Citizens Advisory Committee on Environmental Quality. Citizens Make the Difference: Case Studies of Environmental Action. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, January 1973.

Connor, Desmond M. Citizens Participate: An Action Guide for Public Issues. Oakville, Ontario: Development Press, 1974.

Cunningham, James V. The Resurgent Neighborhood. Notre Dame, Indiana: Fides Publishers, 1965.

Davies, J. Clarence. Neighborhood Groups and Urban Renewal. New York: Columbia University Press, 1966.

Kramer, Ralph M. and Specht, Harry. Readings in Community Organization Practice. Second edition, Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall Inc., 1975.

Lamb, Curt. Political Power in Poor Neighborhoods. Cambridge, MA.: Schenkman, 1975.

Spiegel, Hans. Citizen Participation in Urban Development. Volume 1. (Concepts and Issues); Volume 2. (Cases and Programs). Washington, D.C.: NTL Institute for Applied Behavioral Research, 1968, 1969.

Steggert, Frank X. Community Action Groups and City Governments. Cambridge, MA.: Ballinger Publishing, 1975.

Stavrianos, L.S. The Promise of the Coming Dark Age. San Francisco: W.H. Freeman and Co. 1976. (Especially Chapter 5: "From Representative Democracy to Participatory Democracy").

PA 816
PUBLIC ACCOUNTABILITY

MODULE 3:
DECENTRALIZATION

PREPARED

BY:

DR. CLIFFORD HAM

UNIVERSITY EXTERNAL STUDIES PROGRAM

Developed by the University External Studies Program and the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs, University of Pittsburgh. Under Contract to The Urban Management Curriculum Development Project, The National Training and Development Service, 5028 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20016. Funded by The Office of the Assistant Secretary for Policy Development and Research, U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development.

MODULE 3: DECENTRALIZATION

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Title Page

Key Terms and Concepts XII.3.1

Introduction XII.3.1

Learning Objectives XII.3.2

Overview XII.3.3

Module Readings

A. Decentralization and Accountability XII.3.4

B. Decentralization and Participation XII.3.9

C. Forms of Decentralization XII.3.12

D. Municipal Decentralization: An Overview XII.3.18

E. Neighborhood Government XII.3.22

Footnotes XII.3.30

Module Assignment XII.3.31

Selected Bibliography XII.3.32

MODULE 3: DECENTRALIZATION

KEY TERMS AND CONCEPTS

- Decentralization
- Neighborhood Government
- Citizen Control
- Neighborhood Power

INTRODUCTION

In this module the concept of decentralization is related to accountability and to citizen participation. The term decentralization is defined and discussed, and several forms of decentralization are examined. Decentralization is viewed as one approach to improved municipal government operation but not as a method to be used to the total exclusion of centralization. Decentralization can range from an elemental transfer of administrative powers from a central municipal office to a neighborhood or district office all the way to neighborhood control of decision-making.

After establishing what decentralization is and what forms it can take, some theoretical and practical justifications for it are presented in a review of an article on decentralization. It is clear, however, that despite these justifications, the author of the article (Schmandt) fully expects centralized municipal government to continue as the dominant form.

This module then concludes with the reprint of an article by Milton Kotler, a strong proponent of citizen control at the neighborhood level. In this article, Kotler argues that a large centralized government is not necessarily the most efficient. He continues to point out that an "intercommunal" form of local government has actually been developed to make bureaucarcy more responsive and less costly.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

When you have completed the readings and assignments for this module, you should be able to:

1. Define decentralization, neighborhood government, citizen control, and neighborhood power in your own words.
2. Differentiate between administrative decentralization and political decentralization.
3. State the relationship between decentralization and accountability.
4. State the relationship between decentralization and citizen participation.
5. Explain why an example of decentralization that you have described is or is not desirable based on your own cost-benefit analysis of it.

OVERVIEW

Objectives	Tasks	Resources	Evaluation
1. Define decentralization, neighborhood government, citizen control and neighborhood power in your own words.	Study Questions 1, 4, 11	Module Readings: A, B, F	Self
2. Differentiate between administrative decentralization and political decentralization.	Study Questions 1, 7	Module Readings: A, D	Self
3. State the relationship between decentralization and accountability.	Study Questions 2, 3, 5	Module Readings: A, B, C	Self
4. State the relationship between decentralization and citizen participation.	Study Questions 4,5	Module Readings: B, C	Self
5. Explain why an example of decentralization that you have described is or is not desirable bound on your own cost-benefit analysis of it.	Study Questions 6, 8, 9, 10, 11 Module Assignment	Module Readings: D, E Module Readings and Your Experience	Self Instructor Feedback

A. DECENTRALIZATION AND ACCOUNTABILITY

Decentralization by a municipal government can be considered another evidence of concern for accountability. A municipality willing to station workers in various districts of the municipality is exposing them to public scrutiny; in this way the officials may be indicating: "We have nothing to hide, we want to be accountable." The local field office gives citizens, individually or in groups, the chance to visit the district office, to ask questions, to observe operations, to suggest ideas, and, yes, to complain. If the district office allows it, citizens can have input into some decisions affecting the area. Most of us are familiar with the opposite approach--the centralizing of all decisions "downtown": out-of-sight and unexposed to citizen scrutiny. Clearly one would judge that a decentralized administration can lead to more accountability.*

Decentralization can have several meanings. One definition, and not particularly useful for this course, sees decentralization as increased fragmentation of government and ultimately the withering away of all government. Because it is presumed that many services must continue to be provided collectively or by government, we anticipate that urban government shall continue and, in fact, the range of services may increase.

A second conception of decentralization describes the division of a previously-centralized operational unit into several subdivisions but without a corresponding allocation of decision-making responsibility. This has been labelled "administrative decentralization." An example would be a Department of Recreation with offices in each of several parks but with all decisions made at department headquarters downtown. In order to participate, citizens would have to influence the central unit; that is, they must go "downtown." A simple diagram of administrative decentralization is included in Figure 3-1. The dotted lines in this and the following figure suggest the context of decision-making or the limit of the power to make decisions. This form of decentralization is labelled "territorial decentralization" by some authorities.

---

*Here the author may show a bias toward larger cities where decentralization must take place by calculated policy. Needless-to-say, in small cities access to administrators and policy-makers is taken for granted and much easier.

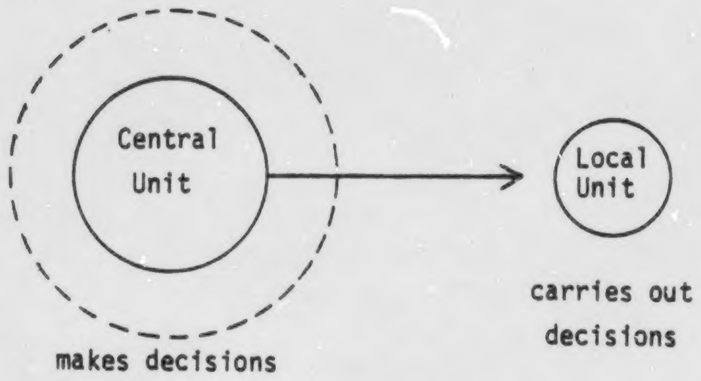


FIGURE 3-1
Administrative Decentralization

A third meaning of decentralization implies the assigning of operating responsibilities and some decision-making power to the local units. Generally, decisions affecting the whole city or larger areas would continue to be made in the central unit, but decisions affecting primarily the local area could be made at that level. This would permit some input from citizens in the locality and from other operating agencies. Citizens would retain the right to go downtown to influence overall policies.

This third meaning of decentralization is often called "political decentralization" to indicate the transfer of authority to officials who are responsible to the local electorate. In the previous illustration of a Department of Parks, we saw all decisions made centrally. In the case of political decentralization, some decisions are made in the central unit, but others are made by the local parks personnel and in consultation with citizens and other local groups. After discussions with neighborhood folks, for example, the local park superintendent may decide to focus efforts on "passive" recreation--open space, trees, and shrubbery, benches, vistas--rather than on "active" recreation--baseball fields, tennis courts, and swimming pools. Figure 3-2, on next page provides a diagrammatic representation of political decentralization.

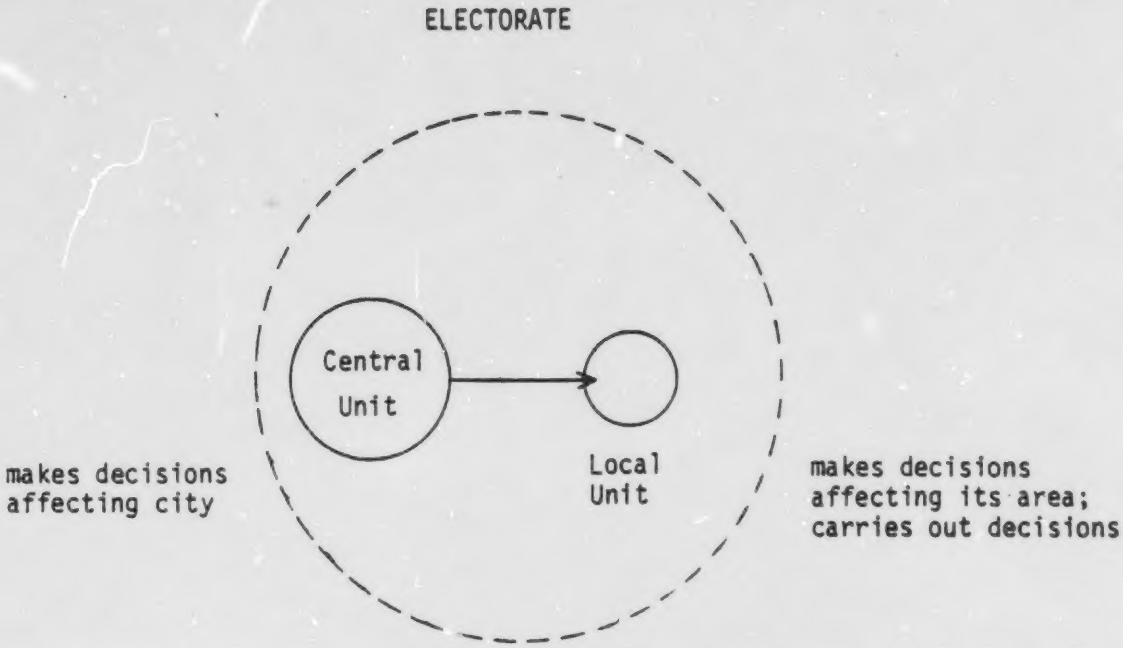

ELECTORATE
Central Unit
Local Unit
makes decisions affecting city
makes decisions affecting its area; carries out decisions

FIGURE 3-2
Political Decentralization

In this module we shall provide illustrations of both administrative and political decentralization. The latter, which provides citizens with more direct access to decision-makers, is preferred because it enhances communication, places responsibility closer to the operating unit, and suggests the possibility of more accountability. The closer an administrative unit is to its constituency the more receptive it will be to suggestions and complaints, the simpler the process of interchange will be, and the more likely it is that accountability will be found on the part of officials.

It should be noted that by stressing the importance of decentralization, the author in no way implies that all decision-making structures should be decentralized. In fact, many decisions of municipal government must be centralized. Examples of decisions which should be centralized or made at the metropolitan area would be:

regional planning,
water supoly,
solid waste disposal,
mass transportation,
airport operation, and
health and welfare policies.

Examples of decisions for which a city might take responsibility are:

city-wide planning and zoning,
police and fire services,
municipal library facilities, and
traffic planning.

Examples of decisions which could be made on a decentralized basis or at a neighborhood level would be:

local street cleaning,
local trash collection,
location of neighborhood playgrounds,
bookmobile or branch library services, and
neighborhood service centers.

Howard Hallman has provided a table showing a variety of activities and the appropriate location for their control. The third column, far right, could well be labelled: activities which can be handled by a metropolitan jurisdiction.

TABLE 3-1[1]

Activities Which Can and Cannot Be Handled by a Neighborhood

Functions	Activities which can be handled by a neighborhood		Activities which cannot be handled by a neighborhood
	10,000 population	25,000 or more	
Police	Patrol Routine investigation Traffic control	Same	Crime laboratory Special investigation Training Communications
Fire	Fire company (minimal)	Fire companies (better)	Training Communications Special investigation
Streets and Highways	Local streets, sidewalks, alleys: Repairs, cleaning, snow removal, lighting, trees	Same	Expressways Major arteries
Transportation			Mass transit Airport Port Terminals
Refuse	Collection	Same	Disposal
Water and Sewer	Local mains	Same	Treatment plants Trunk lines
Parks and Recreation	Local parks Playgrounds Recreation centers Tot-lots Swimming pool (25 m.)	Same plus Community center Skating rink Swimming pool (50 m.)	Large parks, zoo Museum Concert hall Stadium Golf courses
Libraries	Branch (small)	Branch (larger)	Central reference
Education	Elementary	Elementary Secondary	Community colleges Vocational schools
Welfare	Social services	Same	Assistance payments
Health		Public health services Health center	Hospital
Environmental Protection		Environmental sanitation	Air pollution control
Land Use and Development	Local planning Zoning Urban renewal	Same plus Housing and building code enforcement	Broad planning Building and housing standards
Housing	Public housing management	Public housing management & construction	Housing subsidy allocation

STUDY QUESTIONS

1. Define decentralization as used in this Module.

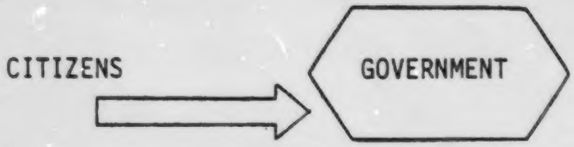
2. How is decentralization related to accountability?

B. DECENTRALIZATION AND PARTICIPATION

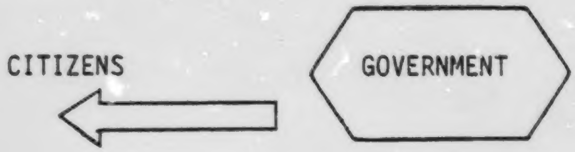
Decentralization can be viewed as a process moving in the opposite direction from citizen participation, even though they both share the same basic goals of efficiency and accountability from government with more involvement, less alienation of citizens. The essential difference, simply put, is that, while citizen participation may start with citizens and spontaneous action groups, decentralization is generally initiated by government itself as a means of moving its sources closer to the recipients. (See Figure 3-3)

Decentralization, like participation, can be scaled all the way from non-involvement of citizens through tokenism to almost complete control by citizens. A decentralized office may receive complaints from citizens but have no capability of solving the problems. Or, a local office may involve citizens in a planning process only to have major decisions made in the central unit. But true decentralization could assign citizens real power in decisions which affect their lives. Examples of such power are suggested by the following list of functions tested in a recent government report:[2]

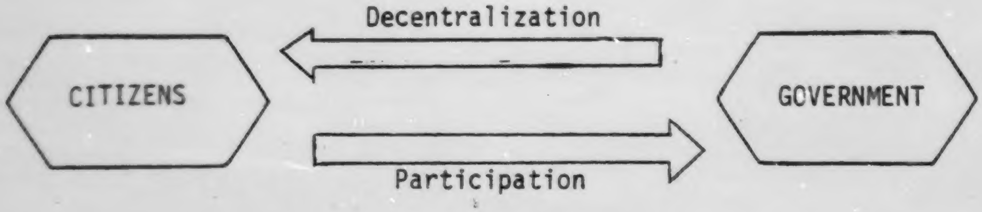
- Setting goals
- Formulating general policies
- Determining specific service levels
- Reviewing program plans
- Approving program plans
- Reviewing the budget
- Monitoring service adequacy
- Channeling citizen complaints
- Hiring and firing staff
- Acting as advocate for citizens



a. CITIZEN PARTICIPATION - starts with citizen concern and effort.



b. DECENTRALIZATION - begins with administrative decisions on the part of governmental officials.



c. ACCOUNTABILITY - includes both Citizen Participation and Decentralization

FIGURE 3-3

Citizen Participation and Decentralization
Related to Accountability

The movement toward decentralization seems to be growing today. Indicative of this movement, several books have appeared recently urging a large measure of citizen control over local government, notably the works by Kotler, (Neighborhood Government), by Altshuler (Community Control), and by Morris and Hess, (Neighborhood Power). And many government programs require advisory boards, citizen involvement, and decentralized decision-making.

A recent report from the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, based in part on a survey of about 500 municipal governments, showed the following:[3]

- Over one-third of the reporting municipalities have not made any decentralization efforts.
- Decentralization is not just a big-city phenomenon; three-fourths of the responding jurisdictions between 50,000 and 250,000 population have adopted one or more of the devices covered in the questionnaire.
- Moving from territorial to administrative to political decentralization approaches, the total number of municipalities taking action declines while average jurisdictional size rises.
- City governments in the South seem more inclined to decentralize than those in other regions, even though most recent city-county consolidation activity has taken place in the Southern states.
- Central cities are far more likely to have decentralized services and provisions for citizen involvement in decision-making affecting their delivery than suburban and independent jurisdictions.
- Form of government does not appear to be significantly associated with the tendency toward decentralization.
- Replies from about three-fourths of officials indicate that their decentralization-citizen participation approaches have been effective in building closer relationships between city hall and neighborhood.

At the same time other trends seem to be moving government in other directions. There is, properly, more emphasis on metropolitan forms of cooperation if not government mergers, regional planning agencies with both review and approval powers, and stronger centralized government with more and complex services at all levels. Still, alienation and dissatisfaction with "big government" increases. The public seems to be rebelling against bond sales for public facilities, higher pay for legislators and other public officials, and more services when these result in higher taxes.

The answers given by proponents of decentralization and increased participation stress the benefits of such activities on the part of citizens. Being involved is more likely to bring a commitment to the process and the decision. No longer is the electorate alienated from the decision-making. Citizens learn by doing; it is hard to learn democracy in an authoritarian setting or when all decisions are made for you. Perhaps most important, decentralization and participation may enlist the concerns of citizens who are trained at the local level and move towards responsible positions at other levels of government services.

3. What forces are urging more decentralization? What forces are leading toward more centralization of government?

4. How is decentralization related to citizen participation?

C. FORMS OF DECENTRALIZATION

Decentralization of municipal government can take many forms, some of which are discussed in the readings. Each of these forms represents a type of decentralization initiated by government officials. The amount of decentralization, or participation, can vary widely within a particular form or among the forms. No city will use all the forms; hopefully most cities will use one or more forms, examples of which are included in the list below:

- District office or neighborhood field offices of various agencies or departments; a place where citizens can find information or ask for help.
- Multi-service centers; representatives of several city agencies or departments are in one location so referrals can easily be made, perhaps joint efforts initiated, and the citizen does not have to travel to several different offices.

- Little City Halls; a further elaboration of multi-service centers, probably including city officials with power to make decisions.
- Neighborhood (or city-wide) complaint centers; personnel easily accessible to listen to citizen complaints and ideas. Follow-up and feedback are vital.
- Ombudsman; a staff person whose function is to hear and investigate charges of administrative error or malfeasance. Such an official plays an essential role in accountability.
- Community planners, community planning boards, a community planning office; planning staff or officials are accessible to citizens to discuss future plans for the area or changes which seem to be desirable.
- Community corporation; citizen groups established on a business-like basis to perform certain city services under contract with the city. A step toward direct community control of some services.
- Meetings of City Council in neighborhoods and/or official hearings in neighborhoods or districts; a planned opportunity to move decision-making from "downtown" to local areas, to show citizens how government works, and to make officials more accessible.
- Newsletters, annual reports, and newspaper features; means to keep citizens informed and to elicit feedback and response.
- Media programs (TV, radio, films); efforts to inform citizens but, hopefully, to encourage two-way communication between officials and the electorate.
- Advisory boards; groups of citizens chosen by a variety of methods who can be delegated a range of powers from "tokenism" to "control."

Again, it is important to realize that not all of these forms will be used in any one city, for some will be more appropriate than others. Furthermore, the powers actually delegated (or decentralized) may vary from little power to community control. (See Figure 3-4.)

POWERS	SELECTED FORMS OF DECENTRALIZATION					
	Advisory Boards	District Offices	Ombudsman	Multi-Service Centers	Community Planners	Community Corporations
Shared Information	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Advisory Relationship	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Program Administration	—	✓	—	✓	✓	✓
Political Responsibility to Community	—	?	?	?	✓	✓
Decision-Making Powers:						
Limited	—	—	✓	✓	✓	✓
Shared	—	—	—	—	✓	✓
Powers to Allocate Reources:						
Limited	—	—	—	✓	—	✓
Shared	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	—	—	—	—	—	—

FIGURE 3-4

Powers held or shared by various decentralized bodies

*Refer to Module 9 for more discussion of costs and benefits

As Figure 3-4 indicates, certain forms of decentralization provide more powers to citizens than other forms. Like the "ladder of participation" (Module #2), decentralization can offer levels of powers from manipulation and non-participation through kinds of "tokenism" to delegated power and citizen control. Note also that most of the rungs on the ladder of participation depend upon the delegation of powers by officials, just as in decentralization.

As might also be expected in any program of decentralization, there will be "costs" to city officials as well as benefits.* While there may be some "dollar costs," other "costs" could include:

longer time to make decisions,
difficulty in determining what decisions should be made on city-wide basis and which ones by neighborhoods,
resistance from local political leaders.
time and effort of officials involved,
necessity for more offices, more rent, and staff costs,
likelihood of raising citizen expectations too high,
reluctance on part of department heads to disperse functions or to share decision-making.

Another dilemma of decentralization suggested by the "costs" is this: with more participation and less alienation on the part of citizens, efficiency in the delivery of city services could be decreased and costs to the city increased. This could require more taxes and promote the alienation we sought to remove!

The attitude of the administrator is important in participation and decentralization activities. If decentralization is entered into reluctantly, citizens and subordinates will assess this fact quickly and citizen efforts may not be taken seriously. Administrators who earnestly desire citizen input can learn much from the citizens, can strengthen their programs and, presumably, can achieve a high degree of citizen acceptance. As Table 3-2 suggests, a majority of cities and counties experienced positive results from decentralization of services.

---

*An expanded discussion of the costs and benefits of decentralization may be found in Module 9.

TABLE 3-2[4]

Evaluation of Decentralization of Services--Citizen Participation Experience for Cities[1] and Counties[2]

Classification	Total, all responses	Difficult but worthwhile experience[3]	Difficult experience but resulting in very little change[4]	Experience which led to deterioration in relationship[5]	Other
Cities reporting — total					
No.	362	232	75	16	39
%		64	21	4	11
Counties reporting — total					
No.	101	75	15	6	5
%		74	15	6	5
Resident advisory committee — cities					
No.	132	94	25	3	10
% of total		71	19	2	8
Resident advisory committee — counties					
No.	37	30	5	0	2
% of total		81	14	0	5
Resident advisory boards to little city halls					
No.	21	12	4	1	4
% of total		57	19	5	19
Resident advisory boards to little county courthouses					
No.	4	4	0	0	0
% of total		100	0	0	0
Resident advisory boards to multiservice centers — cities					
No.	58	35	12	3	8
% of total		60	21	5	14
Resident advisory boards to multiservice centers — counties					
No.	21	16	3	1	1
% of total		76	14	5	5
Neighborhood councils — cities					
No.	81	49	19	3	10
% of total		60	23	4	12
Neighborhood councils — counties					
No.	20	11	4	4	1
% of total		55	20	20	5
Neighborhood corporations — cities					
No.	41	23	9	4	5
% of total		56	22	10	12
Neighborhood corporations — counties					
No.	14	11	2	1	0
% of total		79	14	7	0
Other — cities					
No.	29	19	6	2	2
% of total		66	21	7	7
Other — counties					
No.	5	3	1	0	1
% of total		60	20	0	20

[1] 226 cities reported.

[2] 58 counties reported.

[3] A difficult but very worthwhile experience resulting in increased trust and understanding between citizens, city hall or county courthouse officials, and public administrators.

[4] A difficult experience which resulted in very little change in the relationship between citizens, city hall or county courthouse officials, and public administrators.

[5] An experience which led to a deterioration in the relationship between citizens, city hall or county courthouse officials, and public administrators.

5. Complete the chart below, similar to figure 3-4, indicating the powers held or shared by each of the various decentralized bodies included on the chart.

	SELECTED FORMS OF DECENTRALIZATION			
POWERS	Little City Halls	Neighborhood Complaint Center	Official Meetings in Neighborhood	Community School Board
Shared Information				
Advisory Relationship				
Program Administration				
Political Responsibility to Community				
Decision-Making Powers: Limited Shared				
Power to Allocate Resources: Limited Shared Total				

D. MUNICIPAL DECENTRALIZATION: AN OVERVIEW

The following discussion is a summary of an article by Henry Schmandt ("Municipal Decentralization: An Overview," Public Administration Review, October 1972, pp. 571-588) which reviews developments in municipal decentralization. Although some of the important ideas from Schmandt's article are summarized here, you are strongly encouraged to read the original article in its entirety to enjoy both its spirit and essence as Schmandt intended it.

Decentralization, writes Schmandt, is being urged because our administrative values are changing. "Instead of the traditional stress on economy, efficiency, and centralization as guides for institutional reform, consumer control and client-oriented services have assumed a far more important place."[5] Two demands which are being made of administrators are: increased citizen participation and more devolution of authority.

Two major trends in American political experience help justify the trend toward decentralization: (1) the reliance upon federalism which began with the formation of the United States, and (2) a continuing interest in small community life and neighborhoods. The first theoretical basis, federalism, applies not only to the relationship between the national government and the states but also to the states and the cities, counties and cities, and, today, cities and submunicipal units of government or quasi-governmental organizations such as community development corporations. Two kinds of decentralization, which have federalism as their theoretical basis, are discussed: "political decentralization" where authority is transferred to officials who are responsible to a group of citizens, or where power is actually held by the citizens; and "administrative decentralization" where the transfer of power is solely within the existing governmental unit. Schmandt points out that such terms still are vague and can connote various amounts of transfer of power. Often citizens consider decentralization to mean the political form, or actual transfer of power to them, but officials like to restrict the term to mean the allocation of responsibilities to sub-units within the governmental system.

The other theoretical basis for decentralization grows out of the neighborhood concept. City planners have done much of their planning utilizing the "neighborhood unit concept"; urban renewal plans and some new towns are based upon villages or articulated units of 5 to 10 thousand residents and are often focussed upon a neighborhood school or shopping center. Nevertheless, the concept of "neighborhood" is ambiguous, and considerable question remains as to whether people today really do focus their lives on a narrow geographical territory or whether they are even willing to do so.

Schmandt provides four arguments for municipal decentralization:[6]

1. The administrative argument which focuses on means of improving the delivery of services;
2. The psychological argument which contends that citizens or consumers benefit from decentralization;
3. The sociological argument which addresses the need for adopting (or adapting) policies and practices to meet the variety of different life styles in a city; and
4. The political argument which sees decentralization as a mechanism for developing power.

Given these arguments for and his writing about the need for decentralization, Schmandt observes that "municipal decentralization is more prominent in the literature than in practice."[7] While much has been written about decentralization and many experiments (some very successful) have been undertaken, still there is no general trend nor has any "multifunctional neighborhood government" been established and continued. The need for more experience and more systematic analysis is emphasized.

Many issues are raised that concern the implementation of decentralization plans. One is the question of the appropriate size of a community (or decentralized unit) and the determiniation of boundaries. Note the difficulty that Pittsburgh has had in establishing even the number of community advisory boards. Another organizational issue concerns selection of powers and functions to be decentralized. Recent experiments in worker participation in large American industries show that employees are happy to participate in work-related decisions but that middle-level management is suspicious and worried about the possible implications for their functions. Finally, financing of decentralized units of government is an important issue. For equality, ease of collection and distribution of taxes, and the elasticity of income taxes, most proponents of decentralization favor the smaller units being subsidized by the wider community and not seeking to be self-sufficient.

Schmandt concludes with this admonition:

> Disaggregating certain powers to municipal sub-units in the large cities can give urbanites some control over the day-to-day administration of public functions and programs that are locality oriented. To expect more of municipal decentralization in a society of increasing scale and complexity would be unrealistic.[8]

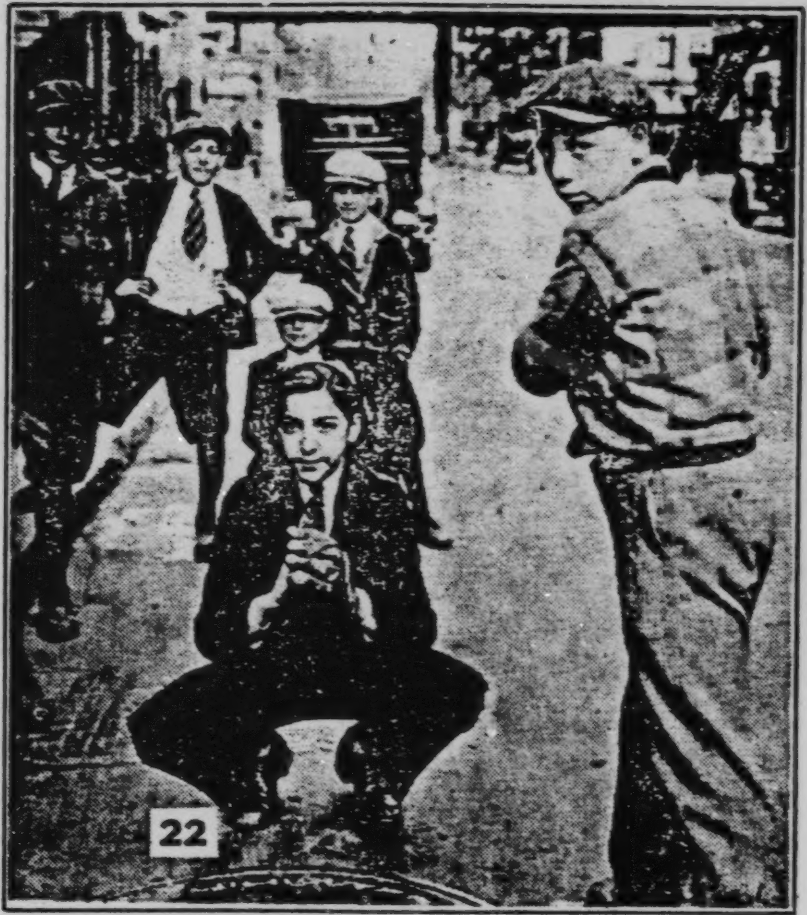
A very extensive bibliography accompanies the review article. This, plus the historical analysis and evaluation of the state of decentralization in American cities today, makes Schmandt's overview a valuable background article for considering decentralization in our cities.

6. What two theoretical bases does Schmandt discuss as justifications for decentralization?

7. Distinguish between political and administrative decentralization.

8. What are the concerns of the four broad categories of support for municipal decentralization which Schmandt presents.

9. The author states: "Municipal decentralization is more prominent in the literature than in practice" (p. 578). Do you agree with Schmandt? Why? Or why not?



Playing one-o-cat with a manhole cover for home plate, 1936

Neighborhood Government

[Ed note: This article focuses on practical and strategic questions regarding neighborhood government. The theoretical and political perspectives which underlie the following analysis are discussed in Milton Kotler's Neighborhood Government *(Bobbs-Merrill) and David Morris' and Karl Hess'* Neighborhood Power *(Beacon Press). We recommend these books.]*

by Milton Kotler

One of the most persistent criticisms levelled at neighborhood government in our cities is that the autonomy of small territorial units within the city will increase the fragmentation of government. The administrative consequence of this fragmentation would be an increase in inefficiency; the political consequence would be an inequality of neighborhoods and an increase of hostility between neighborhoods.

These are serious charges, and it is the purpose of this article to address them. After discussing the potentiality of local democracy for efficiency, social justice, and intercommunal peace, I begin the task of making some progress toward an intercommunal model of urban governance.

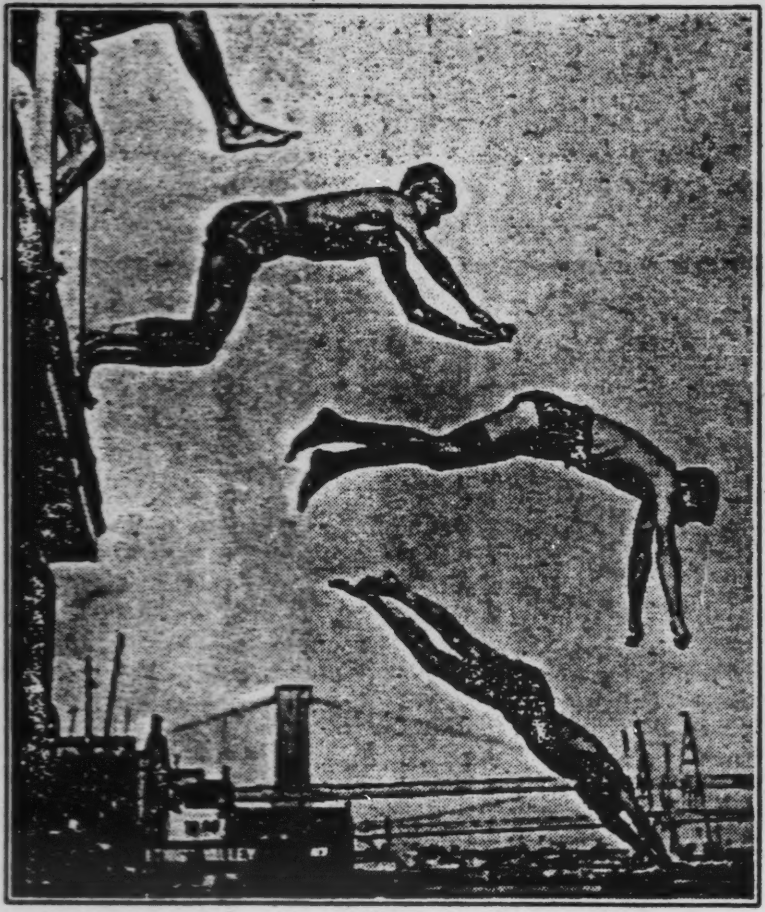
It must be kept in mind, however, that I am proposing that neighborhood government become the basic unit of urban life, and that the interrelation of neighborhood governments shall compose the metropolitan society. This goes much further than a defense of neighborhood government as a new structure of citizen participation in a centralized city government. Rather, neighborhood intercommunalism is being proposed to replace city government itself. In this respect neighborhood government is more than a corrective to city government. It is an alternative, and its fundamental difference is that it restores citizenship rather than management as the main principle of government.

The Question of Efficiency

Our political scientists still conceive the city as they did nearly one hundred years ago. They oppose neighborhood government because they claim the neighborhood is too small to efficiently administer public services. They further argue that the autonomy of neighborhoods will lead to hostility and violence between neighborhoods.

Milton Kotler is a resident fellow of the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington, D.C. and is the author of **Neighborhood Government.**

Reprinted with the permission of Milton Kotler and Liberation Magazine, Spring, 1976, pp. 119-125.



Swimming in the Hudson River, 1938

First, this criticism implies that, in contrast to the neighborhood, the city, at some optimal size, is indeed an efficient closed system of administration. By an adjustment of boundaries the cities of Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, and Los Angeles can become self-sufficient universes of public goods and services.

It appears obvious to many people that while the neighborhood is too small to do anything much by itself, the metropolitan city is indeed big enough to do just about everything for itself. This supposition of the self-sufficient city is one of the major myths of local government.

During the past several years Dr. Joseph F. Zimmerman has studied the present extent of intergovernmental service agreements and transfer of functions at the local level. [1]

In his survey of nearly 6,000 incorporated municipalities, three-fifths of the responding units indicated that they received services from other units. These services ranged from single services to multiple services and the exchange was based on formal and informal agreements.

Among the most popular services obtained by municipalities from other municipalities, counties and, indeed, private firms are jails and detention houses, police training, street lighting, refuse collection, libraries, solid waste disposal, water supply, and crime laboratory services.

Zimmerman informs us that "the tendency of a local government to enter into service agreements is positively correlated with size. Generally, the larger the unit, the more agreements it enters into." [2] Furthermore, council-manager governments are more inclined to enter into service agreements than council-mayor governments.

These last two findings are terribly important. The two most basic elements in the calculus of administrative efficiency are population size and professional management. According to the conventional view of the optimal city, it would seem that the larger the population and more professional the management of a city, the more efficient the city and the less likely it is to enter into service agreements with other cities. Yet, according to the evidence, the contrary appears to be true. The more efficient the city as measured by size and professionalism, the less independent it is and the greater are its number of interlocal service agreements.

In reality the modern large city is not a self-contained system, but rather an open system of interlocal agreements and intergovernmental relations. Services and welfare functions are also increasingly transferred to the private sector. A given city will have hundreds of service agreements with proximate municipalities, as well as with special districts, county and state government, and federal agencies.

The efficiency and rationality of public administration resists the closed municipal system. Vincent Ostrom and Robert Bish point out that "when the diverse nature of public goods and services and the difficulty of meeting diverse demands of citizens through large scale bureaucracies are recognized, the complex governmental systems existing in many metropolitan areas appears to be not only natural but to be an essential prerequisite for an efficient and responsive performance in the public sector." [3]

As if to epitomize the reality of interlocal cooperation, the California Local Governments Reform Task Force Report of 1974 encourages functional efficiency by recommending the partitioning of existing cities and counties so that optimal population units can relate for each given function, without the impediments of unitary jurisdiction. It is also recommended that the neighborhoods should be able to easily separate from large cities, where it is evident that smaller communities could provide better services for themselves or through contract than they receive from their city governments. [4]

A strong current of modern argument would break down the administrative unity of the city or metropolitan area entirely, in favor of numerous functional units varying in size according to efficient performance. Units of 25,000 might form for police services, 10,000 for library services, 5,000 for recreation, 12,000 for primary schools, and so on.

Within this flexible system of administrative efficiency, neighborhood government is recommended as the basic unit of citizen decision and evaluation. Upon this jurisdiction, efficient service is formed not by centralized hierarchy, but by intercommunal contracts and service agreements.

We have come full circle. While conventional opinion condemns neighborhood government for fragmentations and overlapping of services, we find that such fragmentations are not only found in the real city, but more so to the degree that the city is large and managerial. Efficiency and rationality of administration lead to interlocalism rather than the centralized unitary city. The trend of science and investigation is to reject the unitary city in favor of an infinite universe of intercommunal agreements.

As new studies in public administration show the inefficiency of the large scale centralized administration of public goods and services, it becomes increasingly clear that the political forces behind consolidation and centralization will shift their case from the efficiency of centralized governments to social justice and redistribution of wealth accrued under centralization and the security of centralized power.

As long as politicians convince people that poor communities win a greater share of resources from rich communities by the redistributive functions of centralized government and that urban peace requires central control, then people will accept inefficiencies of service. Equality and security are persuasive desires.

The Question of Economic Justice and Peace

Let us turn to the problem of economic justice and then to the peaceful potential of intercommunalism. There are a range of rich and poor communities within our present centralized cities. Certainly neighborhood government cannot be faulted for creating the disparity that exists today. Nor do the historic trends of income distribution in the United States show any reduction of inequality between communities as a result of the economic and political centralization of the past forty years.

In 1969, a preliminary inquiry was made into the redistributive function of the centralized city. [5] Shaw-Cardoza is a poverty area in Washington, D.C. with a population of 80,000 people. Our 1969 study showed a net outflow of taxes from the area above the inflow of the dollar value of goods and services. The community of 80,000 paid out approximately $45 million in District and Federal taxes and received $35 million in the dollars value of public services and welfare received.

Similar studies done by Dr. Richard Schaffer showed a similar net outflow in the working class community of Borough Park in Brooklyn. [6] In his comparative case, Schaffer showed that Bedford-Stuyvesant received more than it paid out in taxes. Yet upon careful scrutiny, this net inflow did not result in any increase in the capital value of the community. It is likely, he concludes, that the net balance "passed through" the Bedford-Stuyvesant community, in the form of payments to government employees who worked in the community but resided elsewhere.

These studies do not indicate any substantial redistributive factor operating by the centralized government to equalize wealth between *communities*. In fact, poor communities in America pay out enormous amounts in taxes and have more fiscal resources than is generally assumed.

If the Shaw-Cardoza area were able to spend its own $45 million in taxation annually for its own services and capital development rather than relying on the city of Washington, that community would be more prosperous

Selling apples on 42nd Street and Lexington, 1930

1930
APPLES

Death Avenue cowboy (on the west side), 1936

today. Neighborhood government may hold a more sound basis for the increase and better distribution of wealth between communities.

We come to the third claim, that neighborhood communities, if restored to independence, will go to war against each other. Let us look to some facts. We have numerous adjacent neighborhood size municipalities in our metropolitan areas, each with their own small police forces. Each of these forces perform local duties and share numerous cooperative agreements with surrounding municipalities.

Current crime and police statistics are quite conclusive in showing that the incidence of crime in these small communities is less than in large cities. Furthermore, citizens' dissatisfaction with a large category of police service increases with the size of municipalities. [7] Contrary to the myth of the violence of balkanized communities, we find that violence prevails within and between the communities of large dominions.

A New Model of Government

Let us imagine the new "inter-communal" city which strives for the values of democracy, efficiency, economic justice and peace. I emphasize "strive" and dare not say "fully achieves."

As our field, we will use the city of Philadelphia. The territory of Philadelphia would be composed of 40-50 neighborhood government municipalities. These would include the familiar areas of Burkholme, East Falls, Logan, Eastwick, Kensington, Overbrook, Roxborough, Mt. Airy, North Philly, Nicetown, Germantown, Mantua, Bridesburg, Oak Lane, and numerous other neighborhood municipalities. The neighborhood governments of Philadelphia would vary in population by up to 50,000 people, and their boundaries would be similar in population to the numerous neighborhood size governments in the suburban counties surrounding Philadelphia.

These neighborhood governments would have the full municipal powers of a typical American city. They would have the powers to tax, zone, license, legislate, draw criminal codes, and so on. They would have authority for the health, education and safety of their citizens. These neighborhood governments would administer police, recreation, libraries, housing, health, schools, refuse collection, and any number of functions. Otherwise, they could contract for the performance of these services or indeed transfer these functions to other municipal, state, federal and private units.

The neighborhood governments of Philadelphia would vary in constitution. Some of the neighborhood governments would have legislative powers invested in the general meeting of citizens, or devolved further into sub-neighborhood units, like block organizations. Other neighborhood governments would have legislative powers vested in representative town meetings, or in numerous elected councils of the entire district. I want to emphasize the essential importance of assembly decision as the cardinal institution of neighborhood government.

In some neighborhood governments the executive power would be held by elected officers. In other cases, the executive officer would be chosen by lot, so that responsibility is rotated throughout the community. Some neighborhood governments may even vest executive power in authorized committees of the assembly, thereby avoiding a division of legislative and executive powers.

The organization of judicial power would also vary. In some cases the general assembly or a committee of the assembly might sit as the jury in criminal and civil cases. Jurors could serve directly or be selected by lot. Judges could be elected or appointed for periods of time.

In this system of local government each neighborhood government would decide its own laws, but most public goods and services would be shared between neighborhood governments. Certain neighborhoods would do certain things themselves like recreation, health maintenance, and primary education. Many other functions like high school education, sewerage disposal, crime laboratories, might be arranged jointly by a number of neighborhood governments in an area.

Because of the diverse needs of the autonomous neighborhood governments, the present area of Philadelphia would show a greater variety of public goods and services than presently exist. The neighborhood governments would have different health programs, correction programs, education programs, and so on. There would be numerous inter-neighborhood organizations for different functions, and the assemblies of each neighborhood would regularly evaluate the program performance of inter-neighborhood service agreements, functions, transfers, and joint ventures.

There is no limit to the range of concerns of these neighborhood governments. Recall the deliberations of historic town meeting government in New England, and the compass of their problems:

> *Neither were those problems simple. On the contrary, it has already been seen that in the course of the first hundred and ninety years of municipal life Braintree and Quincy had to deal in a practical way with almost every one of those questions which are wont to perplex statesmen. Religious heresies, land-titles, internal improvements and means of communication; education, temperance, pauperism, and the care of the insane; public lands, currency, taxation, and municipal debt—all these presented themselves, and the people assembled in town meeting had to, and did, in some fashion work out a solution of them. [8]*

Public service would be responsive to citizen decision, and more service functions would be voluntarily performed by citizens as their civic responsibility. Professionals, however, would continue to exercise expert and steady tasks wherever necessary.

Increasingly, the intercommunal agreements of Philadelphia would spread to relations with neighborhood governments in adjoining counties, so that intercommunalism would assume the form itself of metropolitan government.

On the legislative side, neighborhood assemblies and councils would maintain steady legislative relations with proximate neighborhood governments so that laws are deliberated upon in the context of intercommunal relations. Legislative uniformities could be achieved in certain areas through steady exchange; but, far more important, variation in laws would exist with mutual understanding and notice. Confederative councils for legislative consistency in the metropolitan area would operate to harmonize the independence of law-making throughout the neighborhood governments of the area.

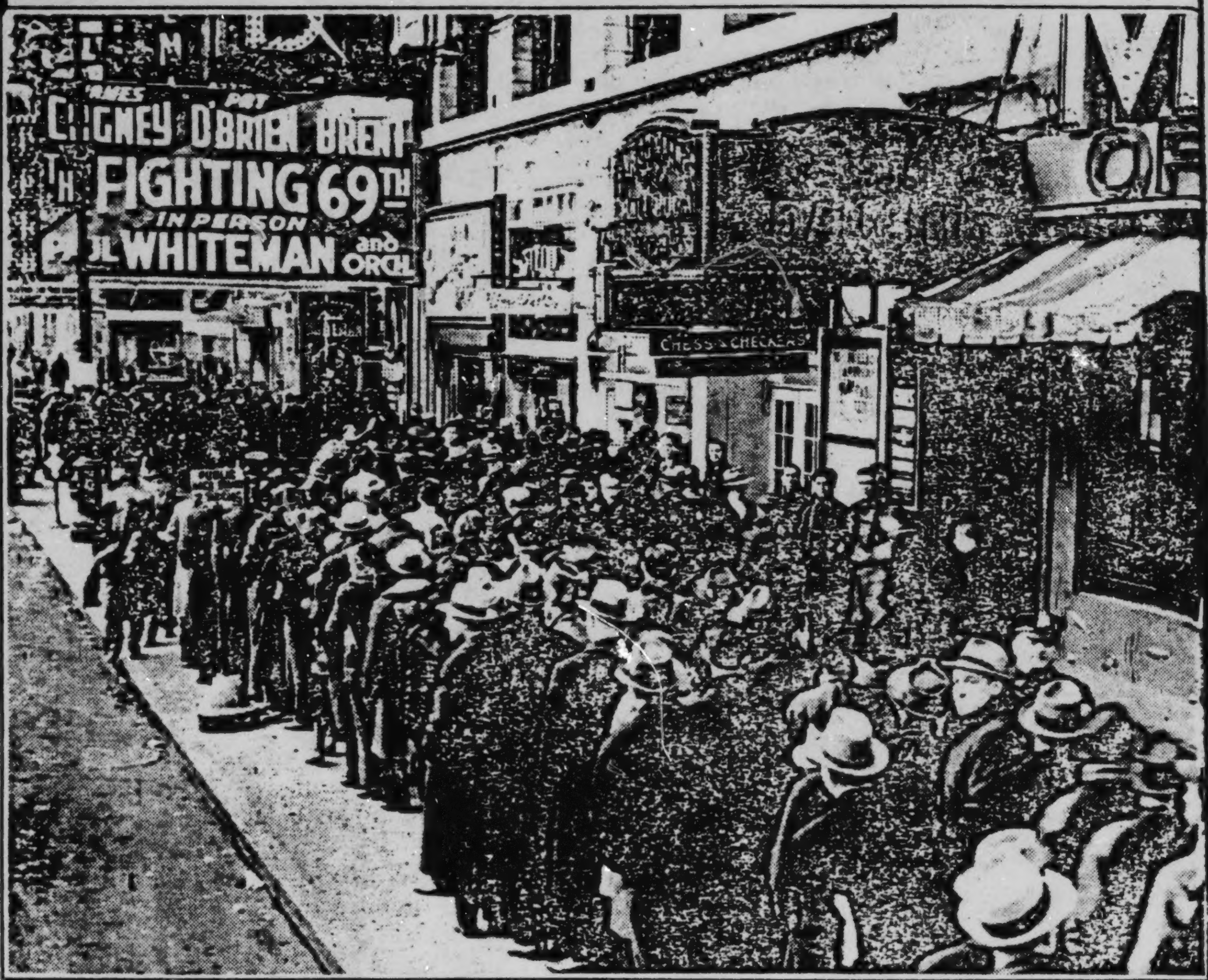
There would be a comparable system of neighborhood interrelationships for the judicial powers of the neighborhood governments. While there will be a strong tendency for uniformity of criminal and civil codes, different neighborhood governments would impose distinct laws and procedures.

This model of the intercommunal city stresses the autonomy of neighborhood government and their right to confederate into common councils for different purposes. In contrast, the Committee for Economic Development (whose board members are from the corporate establishment) offers decentralization through community districts with appropriate legislative representation, while intensifying the executive power of the centralized metropolitan government. Their main purpose is to establish centralized regional government, and they recognize the need to trade off citizen participation in order to gain this end.

Our own aim is the opposite. Our object is to gain power and autonomy for the neighborhood community, and we recognize that a regional confederative capacity is required for this end. The CED stresses managerial centralism, leavened by citizen participation; we stress citizen responsibility with an interlocal management capability.

If we are asked where the "central" government of our metropolitan model is, we say there is no central

At the slaughterhouses, east end of 43rd Street, 1939



42nd Street, 1940's

government. Instead there are many governments, in many constellations of relationships. Seventy neighborhood governments of the metropolitan area may jointly support a crime laboratory; four neighborhood governments will have a junior high school; five neighborhood governments will jointly contract for fire protection; five governments will operate a winter ice skating rink; one neighborhood will publicly own and operate a food cooperative; eighty neighborhoods will operate the electric utilities jointly; six neighborhoods will operate a municipal bank, and so on.

Our model of intercommunalism, as I said earlier, is not that remote from the present autonomy and interrelationships of present suburban neighborhood governments. We should add that the most unsatisfactory aspects of present small size municipalities is that they are not constituted democratically for the sake of citizen responsibility. Instead of direct democracy our thousands of neighborhood size municipalities are run by small elective cliques, which forbid rather than cultivate citizenship.

As a point of advocacy we are not drawn to neighborhood government for the strict sake of its local liberty, if that liberty is to be excercised by a few. We are drawn to local liberty for its democratic potential. When we say that groundwork already exists for our intercommunal city, we also mean that present neighborhood size suburban governments must open their doors to the deliberative responsibility of citizens.

We will also find instruction for our new model in our historic areas of one hundred years ago, before the municipal annexations and consolidations of the 19th and 20th century. Looking at the Boston area, there were many service agreements and joint ventures between Boston, Charlestown, Dorchester, Roxbury, Brighton, Cambridge, and other communities, over water supply, bridges, highways, police and fire protection.

In this period Boston was certainly the dominant municipality in these relations, just as today certain neighborhood governments would have more power and resources than other neighborhood governments. Yet, the other neighborhood governments would have their independence of decision, which is more than they have today with centralized downtown control.

In suggesting that our model of intercommunalism has its roots in American municipality one hundred years ago, I am not suggesting our model represents a return to that period. The scale of technology and economy today will mean more complexity of interrelation than the Boston region exhibited one hundred years ago, but the general description of the model will resemble the administration of local government in Massachusetts in 1830, when Alexis de Toqueville wrote,

> *Uniformity of permanence of design, the minute arrangement of details, and the perfection of administrative systems must not be sought for . . .; what we find there is a presence of a power which, if it is somewhat wild, is at least robust, and an existence checkered with accident indeed, but full of animation and effort. [9]*

It has been several hundred years since physics abandoned the elegant error that the universe was a closed and immutable system. God created the universe; earth was its center and the heavenly bodies played their commanded part.

This centralized universe does not exist. Instead the heavens are an infinite universe of bodies and relationships. There are no commands in nature.

> *Nature and art are too grand to go forth in pursuit of aims, nor is it necessary that they should, for there are relations everywhere, and relations constitute life. [10]*

In like manner we come to a crisis of understanding in political science. Centralization has fallen from heaven, and yet the cosmos continues in relationship without calamity. How long must we suppose that centralization is a necessary feature of political life on earth? ☐

Stopping to talk, 1950

(Photos in this article from The New York Public Library Picture Collection)

---

1. Zimmerman, Intergovernmental Service Agreements and Transfer of Functions in Vol. III, ACIR, Substate Regionalism and the Federal Systems, 1975, Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office.

2. *Ibid.* p. 51

3. Bish, Robert; Ostrom, Vincent, *Understanding Urban Government*, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, Washington, D.C., 1973, p. 61.

4. Local Government Reform Task Force Report, State of California, Governor's Office, Office of Planning and Research, Sacramento, Cal., 1974.

5. Earl F. Mellor, "Public Goods and Services: Costs and Benefits, A Study of the Shaw-Cordoza Area of Washington, D.C.," Institute for Policy Studies, October, 1969.

6. Dr. Richard L. Schaffer, dissertation, Dept. of Economics, NYU, *Toward an Economic and Social Accounting System for Bedford-Stuyvesant*, April 1973.

7. Elinor Ostrom, et. al., *Community Organization and the Provision of Police Services*, ed. H. George Frederickson, Series No.: 03-001, Vol. 1, 1973.

8. Charles Francis Adams, *Three Episodes of Massachusetts History.*

9. De Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* Vol. 1 (Random House, 1945), pp. 95-96.

10. Goethe, letter to Zelter, Jan. 29, 1830.

10. What are the relationships between size of a city and efficiency (and cost) of services?

11. Describe briefly Kotler's "new model of government."

FOOTNOTES

1. Howard Hallman, Government by Neighborhoods (Washington, D.C.: Center for Governmental Studies, 1973), Table 1, p. 24.

2. Carl W. Sternberg, The New Grass Roots Government? Decentralization and Citizen Participation in Urban Areas (Washington D.C.: Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, January 1972), Table 5, p. 9.

3. Ibid., pp. 3-4.

4. Ibid., Table 13, p. 18.

5. Henry J. Schmandt, "Municipal Decentralization: An Overview," Public Administration Review, October 1972, p. 571.

6. Ibid., pp. 576-577.

7. Ibid. p. 578.

8. Ibid., p. 584.

ASSIGNMENT

The following questions should be answered as completely as possible on separate paper. Two copies of your responses should be mailed to the instructor. One copy will be returned to you with the instructor's comments and the other will be retained as part of your course record.

Be sure that you answer both parts (1 and 2) to this question.

Part 1. Describe in detail one example of public agency decentralization (preferably from your own experience and from the municipality in which you live, work, or own property). Explain whether you think your example illustrates administrative or political decentralization.

Part 2. Then, develop an expanded chart (based on the one below) in which you place your own example of decentralization along one side with following categories across the top as follows.

Example	Benefits to (City) Official	Benefits to Citizens in Neighborhoods	Costs to (City) Official	Costs to Citizens
	1.	1.	1.	1.
	2.	2.	2.	2.
	3.	3.	3.	3.

Be sure to make your chart large enough so that you can then fill it in with brief statements which indicate some of the benefits and "costs" of decentralization (Remember that "costs" as discussed in this module are not necessarily dollar amounts but "problems" for the administrator or citizen.) Conclude with a brief statement explaining why you feel your example of decentralization is or is not desirable.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Altshuler, Alan. Community Control, New York: Pegasus, 1970.

Fantini, Mario; Gittell, Marilyn; and Magat, Richard. Community Control and the Urban School, New York: Praeger, 1970.

Farr, Weber G. et al. Decentralizing City Government: A Practical Study of a Radical Proposal for New York City, New York: Praeger, 1972.

Frederickson, H. George, ed. Politics, Public Administration and Neighborhood Control, San Francisco: Chandler, 1973.

Hallman, Howard W. Administrative Decentralization and Citizen Control, Washington, D.C.: Center for Governmental Studies, 1971.

Hallman, Howard W. Government by Neighborhoods, Washington, D.C.: Center for Governmental Studies, June 1973.

Hallman, Howard W. Neighborhood Control of Public Programs: Case Studies of Community Corporations and Neighborhood Control, New York: Praeger, 1970.

Kotler, Milton. Neighborhood Government, Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1969.

Morris, David, and Hess, Karl. Neighborhood Power: The New Localism, Boston: Beacon Press, 1975.

Nordlinger, Eric. Decentralizing the City: A Case Study of Boston's Little City Halls, Cambridge, MA.: M.I.T. Press, 1972.

Schmandt, Henry J. "Municipal Decentralization: An Overview." Public Administration Review, *Special Issue*, October 1972, pp. 571-588.

Sternberg, Carl W. The New Grass Roots Government? Decentralization and Citizen Participation in Urban Areas. Washington, D.C.: Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, 1972.

Washnis, George J. Little City Halls. Washington, D.C.: Center for Governmental Studies, 1971.

Washnis, George J. Municipal Decentralization and Neighborhood Resources, New York: Praeger, 1972.

Yates, Douglas. Neighborhood Democracy, Lexington, MA.: D.C. Heath, 1973.

Zimmerman, Joseph F. The Federated City: Community Control in Large Cities, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1972.

PA 816
PUBLIC ACCOUNTABILITY

MODULE 4:
KNOWING YOUR COMMUNITY

PREPARED

BY:

DR. CLIFFORD HAM

UNIVERSITY EXTERNAL STUDIES PROGRAM

Developed by the University External Studies Program and the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs, University of Pittsburgh. Under Contract to The Urban Management Curriculum Development Project, The National Training and Development Service, 5028 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20016. Funded by The Office of the Assistant Secretary for Policy Development and Research, U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development.

MODULE 4: KNOWING YOUR COMMUNITY

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Title **Page**

Key Terms and Concepts XII.4.1

Introduction XII.4.1

Learning Objectives XII.4.3

Overview XII.4.4

Module Readings

A. Identifying and Describing Your Community XII.4.5

B. Community Leaders XII.4.12

C. Neighborhood Leadership XII.4.32

D. The Neighborhood Atlas Study XII.4.34

Footnotes XII.4.48

Assignment XII.4.49

Selected Bibliography XII.4.50

MODULE 4: KNOWING YOUR COMMUNITY

KEY TERMS AND CONCEPTS

- Community
- Listening
- Leaders

INTRODUCTION

> *We have to find some way to re-create the spirit of neighborliness and mutual self-support that existed before the mobility and the anonymity and increasing information flow that has been the product of this very prosperous society.*
>
> *Edmund G. Brown, Jr.*

Public officials must know a lot about the communities they serve. Yet the term "community" is an elusive one; it can mean the entire municipality or parts of the jurisdiction; a greater regional area or an association of like-minded persons. Citizens generally can describe their residential areas, but studies have shown that perceptions of "communities" vary widely. This module offers a general definition of "community" and suggests different applications of the term.

Both citizens and officials should know some basic facts about the community or communities. A sampling of questions suggests some kinds of information useful to both officials or residents. Probably more information is available describing particular aspects of communities than can ever be utilized; yet other pieces of information often are lacking.

One way of finding out about a community is "listening." An official can listen to the constituents of an area, or a citizen can hear the ideas and opinions of neighbors; this process is especially useful in understanding attitudes.

Leaders are an especially important part of a neighborhood. How does one discover the natural leaders in a community? What kind of leadership do different leaders provide? An article by Harold Nix explores several techniques for locating leaders. Section C offers a review of different types of leadership and raises some troublesome problems with neighborhood leadership identification and utilization.

This module concludes with a report of an innovative study of communities by Roger Ahlbrandt and James V. Cunningham. The Neighborhood Altas project they describe attempted to delineate neighborhoods and also to select those "communities" which could serve as officially-recognized districts of the City of Pittsburgh.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

When you have completed the readings and assignment for this module, you should be able to:

1. Define the key terms and concepts in your own words.
2. Explain the four different meanings which can be given to the term community.
3. Summarize the advantages of learning about a community prior to developing public programs in that area.
4. List some of the many facts an official should know about a community, and explain how they may be obtained.
5. Describe four methods by which community leaders can be identified.
6. Describe a community in terms suggested in this module and suggest ways to collect significant information about a community.

OVERVIEW

Objectives	Tasks	Resources	Evaluation
1. Define the three key Terms in your own words.	Study Questions 1, 9, 10, and 11	Module Readings: A, C	Self
2. Explain the four different meanings which can be given to the term community.	Study Questions 2, 12	Module Readings: A, D	Self
3. Summarize the advantages of learning about a community prior to developing public programs in that area.	Study Question 1	Module Reading: A	Self
4. List some of the many facts an official should know about a community and explain how they may be obtained.	Studv Questions 3, 4, 13, and 14	Module Readings: A, D	Self
5. Describe four methods by which community leaders can be identified.	Study Questions 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, and 11	Module Readings: B, D	Self
6. Describe a community in terms suggested in this module and suggest ways to collect significant information atout a community.	Study Question 8 Module Assignment	Module Reading: B Module Readings and Your Experience	Self Instructor Feedback

A. IDENTIFYING AND DESCRIBING YOUR COMMUNITY

Public officials who seek to be accountable must know their community--or communities. Officials serving large urban areas must deal with many publics and many geographical groupings of people. Each group will have its own interests and concerns. Some of these groups have a clearly delineated geographical setting; others may be organized around interests and represent a diffused area. While we recognize the groups focused on interests, such as a conservation club or taxpayers league, in this section we will primarily discuss groupings of citizens within a municipal context.

Being informed about the community will help officials select appropriate staff, strategies and tactics, programs, ways to cooperate with each area, and procedures to supply services in an effective and acceptable manner. Citizen participation efforts or decentralization decisions depend heavily on the types of communities affected. Also, these questions must be answered: Do officials consider only the total city and overall needs?. . . or do they consider, as well, the disparate needs and desires of neighborhoods, districts, communities, and other areas? The accountable official must be responsive to the smaller groups as well as to city-wide services and interests.

Citizens, too, perceive their areas in diverse ways and accept several sets of boundaries. While citizens normally have a clear concept of "their community," their perceptions may differ one from another. The identification and use of the community may also vary; some citizens rarely leave the neighborhood, enjoying all their associations nearby, while others use the neighborhood mainly as a "bedroom community."

Recognizing "communities" is not always easy. As cities have grown, they have engulfed "communities," sometimes annexing smaller cities. Within a large city, consequently, we find neighborhoods, districts, quarters, or ghettos which may have no legal or political bounds but which may have a rich historical or cultural tradition.

When officials or citizens examine a particular area, they may find that they do not agree among themselves as to what constitutes a "community" and establishes its boundaries. They may be using different bases to determine the community, such as (1) political jurisdictions; (2) social relationships; (3) business centers; and (4) citizen perception. These four meanings, in particular, will be discussed in more detail, but other delineations of communities may also be considered, such as (5) history and tradition; (6) cultural distinctions; (7) socio-economic status; and (8) geographical separation.

1. Political jurisdictions determine "community" for public officials to a large extent. Officials are concerned with political precincts, wards, districts, and city boundaries. Even if a community is considered by some to extend over a city boundary, the officials must restrict services to the area of their responsibility. In many instances political boundaries and the meanings of community are identical; this would be the case in many small cities, some suburban areas, and a few politically-autonomous, small enclaves within a larger city.

2. Social relationships may determine a community for its residents, even if political boundaries seem to cut the area into different jurisdictions. The citizens may enjoy most of their social interactions within an area unrelated to political entities and use social institutions, such as schools, churches, libraries, and parks, which cut across political boundaries. New York City may be an example of this because residents of Connecticut and New Jersey appreciate the cultural attractions in Manhattan as much as folks from New York State. They probably form friendships irrespective of the political boundaries, and they consider themselves part of the New York social milieu. The same identification occurs in cities across ward and precinct lines. Officials may be less concerned with social patterns but today are becoming increasingly aware of their importance in preserving viable urban life.

3. Business focus may also determine "a community." People shopping in a large commercial center, using services performed there, and taking advantage of other business opportunities may consider the area their community. An example of this is an urban renewal area which is located on the boundary of several city wards, being partially in four. The whole area is recognized as "a community," while each ward has separate social relationships and business areas which make those wards "communities" too.

4. Citizens perceive or identify a community in other ways, perhaps using some of the other meanings of community as their focus, but delineating distinctive boundaries nevertheless. Certain streets, topographical

features, or activities suggest a "perceived community." A business center may be the focus of such a community, or certain cultural institutions, but the community is perceived as something more by its residents. Officials should recognize the importance of the citizen perceptions.

Similarly one can delineate communities by the other factors of history, geography, culture, or social status. However the community is delineated, the point is that officials will adjust their services and their concerns to the particular community. And in order to make these adjustments it is necessary for the officials to know more about the community or communities. There are a number of characteristics that officials should study to help them be accountable to the residents. These characteristics, may be grouped into broad categories which are listed below with representative questions of the kind to which knowledgeable officials should have answers.*

- Residents: What kind of people live in the "community"? What are their interests, concerns, and goals? Whay kinds of problems do the citizens report for themselves?. . .or for the community as a whole? What are the basic attitudes and values of the people? What are their aspirations and felt needs? How do they feel about the present services, programs, and facilities provided for their community? What is the reaction of the people to public issues? What is the reaction of the people to public issues? What areas of cooperation and conflict between the residents and their government are observable?

- Housing: How many persons live in the community? What is the social, economic, racial, ethnic, age background of residents? Are residents mainly in family groups? Are there many single person households?

  What kinds of housing may be found? How frequently do families (or other groups) move? Is the area relatively stable or transient?

---

*Because these categories are only briefly examined here, some additional readings are listed in the selected bibliography at the end of this module for your further study.

- Physical Aspects: What are the physical characteristics of the community? What are the boundaries? Do residents perceive this as a "community"? Is the area isolated or physically tied to other communities?

  What are the land uses in the area?. . .the transportation patterns?. . .community facilities (parks, schools, shopping centers, etc.)?

- Cultural Institutions: What are the institutions of the area, i.e., churches, schools, libraries, recreation centers, parks, and playgrounds, etc.?

- Leadership: What kind of leadership does the area have? Are there many community organizations? What kind of issues do the community organizations focus on? What are their strategies (consensus, competition, or conflict)? Is there a high level of volunteer activity and a high level of community concern?

- Relationships: What relationships do residents of the area have with other communities? Do they shop, go to school and church, and participate in recreational activities in the area or outside of the area? Do workers commute to their jobs or are the jobs nearby? Are there organizational alliances with other groups?. . . . . political allegiancies?. . .church, labor, race or ethnic, or other ties to other neighborhoods?

Answering these questions helps public officials to learn about the community--or communities--in their jurisdiction. Then they can select appropriate citizen participation or decentralization strategies. For example, an upper income, stable neighborhood may form its own association, have many volunteer workers, and feel it is incumbent upon public officials to respond quickly to neighborhood requests. The strategy adopted by officials may be mainly to inform workers of the city's policy to cooperate with this community, to respond as rapidly as possible to requests, and to refer difficult requests to a liaison person in the mayor's office. City officials will be encouraged to visit the community frequently, attend association meetings, and maintain cordial relations.

A lower income area, on the other hand, may lack either a community association or the incentive to form one. Resources are limited in the area, and residents, being more recently arrived in the city, do not understand how the city responds to requests. In this example, the city might establish a district office so residents can take requests directly to a concerned official. The city may go further and actually provide trained professional workers to build a citizens association, to encourage residents to take their requests to the district office, and to assist in planning for the area. In cases such as these, if the citizens are to participate, public funds may be needed to help the process along.

Knowledge about the various communities is essential, therefore, to know the conditions under which citizen participation and decentralization are possible. The more that officials know about an area, the less likely they will be to make serious errors and jeopardize their programs. One way of getting information is through review of available materials: census reports, planning reports, studies done of the community by students or news reporters, and business statistics. Another excellent way is to listen to the community residents themselves.

As more and more citizens expect to participate in their government, intend to be heard, and want officials to meet and discuss issues with them on a personal basis, the wise public officials will learn how to listen to their constituents. Officials will want to learn how to relate directly with citizens. They will agree that perhaps they don't know "what is best for the citizens of the community." The appropriate solution, then, is to listen.

Listening may mean asking a question or two to start off a conversation. It means discovering what problems and concerns a citizen has. It implies listening to proposals offered for the improvement of the community. It means hearing complaints about taxes and the way things have been done in the past. Listening also suggests some interpretation: what are the real gripes of these citizens? and where is government really failing them? Listening does not mean answering back, giving explanations as to why certain actions were taken, or justifying decisions of city workers.

Listening is the best way of getting a "feel" for the community, of learning what issues are uppermost in the minds of the residents, and what may be possible solutions. The best aspect of simply listening is that, often, after being heard at length, the citizen is ready to begin a constructive process of working together. It is at this point that an appropriate form of participatory activity can be introduced.

The Organizer's Manual says the following about learning from the community. Although not directed exclusively to public officials, it does have relevance for anyone interested in learning about his or her community.

> Learn the issues from the people. Go out into the community to analyze the situation and listen to the people. Sit in the local tavern and drink with the men, but mostly listen. Listen to the corner grocery man who is a key to the economic situation in the town. Go to the local playground and talk to the mothers. Talk to the kids who hang out on the corners--they can best gauge the educational and recreational and job opportunities for the young.
>
> Basic research. Go to the local library and read back issues of the community newspaper, and prepare a list of names of people you might wish to contact or whom you might eventually expect to oppose. Gauge the existing community problems and attitudes of the people from the newspaper if you can. Find out who owns the newspaper, the radio stations, TV stations, and other community media.
>
> Find out also as much as you can about who runs the community and how they stay in power. What is their degree of vulnerability? Visit identifiable community leaders, members of the united fund, local ministers, the president of the local bank. Listen and rap with them, and try to discover where their heads are at. Get names of other people who they think you might talk to. Visit local professionals, clergy, teachers, and members of liberal groups and find the good conscientious people. You need this information for two purposes: to find potential high-visibility allies, and to sound out potential enemies.[1]

STUDY QUESTIONS

1. In your own words, state some reasons why officials should know about the community they serve.

2. What four meanings are suggested for the word community? Provide an example for each meaning from your own community.

3. List five categories of facts one should learn about a community. How might you collect the information included in each category?

4. The Organizer's Manual suggests a slightly different approach to learning about one's community. What technique does the Manual emphasize?

B. COMMUNITY LEADERS

An essential part of any community is its leadership. Who are the people who make decisions in a locality? Who influence policies and programs? What folks should public officials contact to learn about the community, its concerns, and its way of making decisions?

It is important that public officials be aware of and work closely with community "influentials," those who help to mold opinions. This hardly nullifies the need to contact and work with as many citizens as possible; but without the support of the leadership, projects may fail. One study of 18 communities has shown that the proponents of change in community issues won less than one-third of the time without the united support of acknowledged leaders. On the other hand, with the support of these leaders, proponents of change won two-thirds of the time.[2]

Exploring the variety of possible methods for identifying community leaders (e.g., the use of questionnaires, interviews, study of decisions) suggests ways of studying other aspects of community life. Similar methods may be used to study the composition of the population and the role of business leaders, ethnic populations, religious groups, and so on. We use leadership as one element in a community study.

Read the following article by Harold Nix to learn about community leaders and how they may be discovered.

IDENTIFYING COMMUNITY LEADERS, ORGANIZATIONS, AND FACTIONS

Identifying Community Leaders

Most modern studies of community power and leadership have used one or more of four techniques to identify community leaders. These are (1) the positional approach, (2) the social-participation approach, (3) the reputational approach, and (4) the decision-making approach.

The positional approach assumes that formal authority is leadership and that those individuals who hold top positions in the largest and most active organization (governmental or political, industrial, business, finance, education, etc.) will make the important community-type decisions. Comparative studies indicate the lack of reliability of this method.

The social-participation approach is based on the assumption that leadership is a consequence of social activity. The technique involved is to determine for individuals their membership, activities, and offices held in voluntary associations. The persons revealed as activists in voluntary associations do not correlate highly with leaders determined by other methods.

The reputational approach involves the identification of persons reputed to have power or influence in community affairs. These individuals are identified by asking selected individuals in the community to name the persons they consider to be most influential or powerful in community affairs. This approach is based on the assumption that leadership is too complex to be studied directly. Hence, community informants are asked for their perceptions of leadership. Many criticisms have been directed against this approach.

The decision-making approach involves the study of events or decisions to determine who was involved in influencing the

Reprinted from Identification of Leaders, and Their Involvement in the Planning Process, by Harold L. Nix. Published by Public Health Service, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1970. (Public Health Service Publication #1998), pp. 13-22; 33-39. [Footnotes omitted]

outcome. In addition to being time consuming, this approach presents the difficulty of selecting the most meaningful events or decisions. In addition, it does not reveal the influence of policy, reputation, or behind-the-scenes maneuvering, in that the approach is based on the assumption that power actors must visibly ''do something'' to influence a decision.

Perhaps the most important criticism is the tendency for the data gathered to present the illusion of a monolithic, or an undifferentiated, power group. This weakness can be, in part, overcome by supplementing the technique with additional questions, supplementary observations, and refinements in analysis.

There is a growing tendency for basic researchers in the area of community leadership to use a combination of approaches, in that each approach with varying degrees of overlap has a tendency to identify different functional types of leaders. . . . . The reputational approach tends to identify the top leaders or legitimizers. The decision-making approach, especially in the larger communities, tends to uncover the effectors or second-level leaders. The social-participation approach discovers largely the activists, doers, or joiners. The positional approach has produced varying results. It identifies leaders of top organizations who may or may not be actively involved in community decision making.

For the public health official*or other community change agent, the multiple approach is impractical. Instead, a modified reputational approach is likely to be the most practical and to provide the most insight in terms of the skills and time likely to be available.

The Reputational Approach to Identifying General and Specialized Community Leaders

The reputational approach described here involves the identification of individuals who are perceived by knowledgeables to be most influential in making community-type decisions or in determining the outcome of community events. There are several steps in this procedure.

Determining the Geographic-Political Area

The first step in identifying community leaders is to determine the relevant geographic-political area. This is determined largely by the area of jurisdiction or the area for which the proposed planning is relevant, or both. If the relevant area is composed of a number of political subdivisions such as cities within a county or cities and counties within a metropolitan area or a health district, one will likely have to identify influentials for the *whole area* and for each of the *subcommunities*. This is especially important where implementation of planned improvements depends upon the cooperation and coordination of more than one governmental unit.

---

*This may also be read "For most public officials" especially as it applies to this module.

Developing the Interview Guide

After the area of study has been determined, the next step is to decide which questions to ask for identifying leaders and leadership patterns in the area of environmental health planning. An example of an interview schedule including such questions may be seen in Appendix A.

In order to determine the legitimizers or top influentials, one could ask: ''Would you please name six or eight persons who you think have the most influence in general affairs *(name the total geographic-political area)*, regardless of whether or not you approve of the way they use their influence?'' In addition to determining the names of community influentials, the interviewer may wish to determine their occupations and positions.

If the total geographic-political area is composed of more than one political unit, such as cities or counties, the same question may be asked of each unit. It is practical, however, to ask for only two or three influentials for each subunit.

There are many persons in a community who influence community decisions in specialized issues who would seldom, if ever, be named as general leaders. It is important to identify specialized leaders in the relevant areas. Specialized areas of leadership that may be relevant to environmental health planning and implementation include public health, politics, city or community planning, business and industry, communication, and medicine.

Other than these technical areas of leadership, one often wishes to determine the leaders within certain special categories who may be overlooked in asking for general community influentials. For example, women, Negroes, and ethnic or other minority groups are often poorly represented among the general community influentials. It may, however, be very important to involve these groups in the planning process. One should, therefore, specifically ask for leaders in these relevant categories and interview some of each type. The assumption is that they will recognize their own leaders better than the dominant group leaders. It is well known, for example, that the Negroes generally considered as leaders by white leaders are often disrespected by many other Negroes. The task of finding leaders of minority groups by using a researcher from the majority is not easy. This is especially true when there is considerable change and disorganization among the minority group.

In order to identify leaders in special areas or minority groups, one could request: ''Would you please name two or three persons in *(name of community or subcommunity)* who have the most influence in each of the following areas (or groups).''

Factions, as well as leaders, should be taken into account in environmental and other areas of community planning. Factions or basic divisions in a community may be identified by asking questions such as: ''What do you consider to be the basic factions (cleavages, divisions, or areas of opposition) in *(name of total community)*?'' Such a question could be followed by asking: ''Who is the best person to act as a 'go-between' or link between these factions?''

Organizations and groups as well as individuals exercise influence over the affairs of a community. In communities not characterized by bossism or a high degree of disorganization, one can usually find some group or organization that serves as a focal point for important community decisions. It is here that legitimization of proposed projects usually takes place. In small rural or one-industry towns, this group may be a small informal clique of influentials who meet periodically to make decisions that vitally influence the community. In larger, more complex, and more diversified communities, one often finds a coordination of community affairs taking place in one dominant organization, such as a chamber of commerce. In other large communities, there may be a rather clearcut division of responsibility in community decision making between two or more organizations with informal coordination between them. These organizations or groups made up of representatives of varying vested interests were referred to as coordinative interstitial groups in an earlier section.

An approach to identifying influential (coordinative) community groups or organizations is to ask: ''Would you please name the groups or organizations which you consider as having the most influence on the general affairs of this community?''

A more specific question relating to environmental health planning is: ''As you know, environmental health generally includes such areas of concern as water supply, sewerage, waste collection and disposal, air pollution, neighborhood recreation and sanitation, housing, and food inspection. Which organizations in this community do you think could be more influential in determining whether or not a program to improve these areas would be successful?''

Selecting the Respondents

After the questions have been determined, another step is to select respondents or people who are knowledgeable about the leadership and issues in the community. Typically, these persons hold positions such as director of the local chamber of commerce, banker, leading business and industrial executives, leading ministers, editors, mayors and city managers. Several approaches have been used to select knowledgeables, and there are indications that the varying approaches yield essentially the same results. Two approaches will be described briefly. Either should provide an adequate working knowledge for health-planning purposes.

Snowball Method. In using the ''snowball'' method, the leadership study is started with interviews with one or two well-known key figures in the community, such as an influential editor, banker, businessman, or chamber of commerce president. As part of the interview, the individual is asked to name six or eight of the most influential persons in general community affairs. A running tabulation of persons named should be kept, and those named often should in turn be interviewed. This process may continue until the interviewer can largely predict the interviewees' responses. For applied research, our experiences indicate that a good working knowledge may be gained in a small community of less than 10,000 people with from 10 to 20 interviews. The leadership structures of communities with populations of from 10,000 to 100,000 may be comprehended with from 15 to 25 interviews. Larger communities or communities split by several factions or political subdivisions would require more interviews, if one is to understand the total community and its subdivisions.

Panel Method. The panel method calls for a careful selection of one or two top leaders in each of several institutional areas, such as (1) government, (2) business and industry, (3) mass communication, (4) education, (5) health, (6) religion, (7) labor, and (8) welfare. The addition of other categories for special purposes may be desirable. These may include minority groups, women, or leaders from subcommunities and political subdivisions.

The members of this panel are interviewed and asked to name six or eight of the most influential persons in the community. As in the snowball method, a tabulation of persons named most often will lead to further selections until the interviewers feel that they have a sufficient working knowledge of the leadership patterns in the community.

Interviewing

For this type of study involving rather confidential discussions with persons of high status in the community, it is recommended that the interviewer have the appearance, skill, and status to command the respect of the influentials. This would likely be a person occupying one of the top positions in the local health department. An alternate solution is to bring in a social scientist from the state health department, local college, or state university. There are some advantages to having a competent outsider carry out this particular assignment.

The interview may be quite formal. That is, the interviewer may (1) contact the person to be interviewed, (2) identify himself and the organization he represents, (3) indicate that he wishes to consult with him regarding the leadership of the community, (4) state the purposes of the interview, (5) specify how the information will be used, and (6) indicate the confidential nature of the interview. The questions are asked and the answers recorded in the appropriate space on a specially prepared form (see Appendix A).

On the other hand, one might prefer to conduct the study in a much more casual manner. He may prefer to simplify his questions and, on the golf course or at coffee, state that he needs community support for a community improvement program, and then discretely ask about influentials, special area leaders, and influential organizations. The responses are mentally noted to be recorded soon after the interview. The asking of such questions usually means to the interviewee that the interviewer is attempting to go through the regular channel with his program.

Summary of Findings

After the decision is made to stop interviewing, the responses should be summarized for each question in the interview schedule. The *first* step in summarizing the responses to the first question would be to determine the frequency or number of times each leader is named. The process of tabulating the frequency of nominations for each leader can be routinized by the use of a tally form such as the following.

GENERAL COMMUNITY LEADERS BY REPUTATION,
JONESVILLE, June 1967

Name	Tally	Frequency
Johnny Bishop	𝍸 𝍸 11	12
William Jones	𝍸 𝍸 𝍸 𝍸 𝍸 111	28
Henry Smith	111	3
Lewis Adams	𝍸 𝍸 𝍸 𝍸 11	22

With such a form, names can be listed as nominated on the schedules and tally marks made for each nomination. It is then a simple matter to count the tally marks by each name and record the frequencies in the frequency column. By totaling the number of nominations and the frequencies, one can determine other measures, such as mean number of times leaders are nominated, the percentages of interviewees who nominate any particular leader, and others.

The *second* step in summarizing the responses would be to make an *array* of the nominated leaders in the order of the number of times mentioned. The array should also include the ranking of leaders and the frequency of times mentioned. The following suggested form could be used.

GENERAL COMMUNITY LEADERS BY RANK ORDER AND FREQUENCY,
JONESVILLE, June 1967

Rank	Name	Frequency
1	William Jones	28
2	Lewis Adams	22
58	Julia Wilkerson	2

Depending upon the purpose of the study, some researchers would eliminate from the array those named only once or twice.

Another way to view the responses is to develop sociograms to determine who names whom. Bonjean adds insight to the data gained by the reputational approach by determining which leaders are nominated by only top leaders, by only low-level leaders, and by both top leaders and low-level leaders. Those named only by the top leaders he calls ''hidden'' leaders; those named only by low-level leaders are called ''symbolic'' leaders; and those named by both top and low-level leaders are called ''visible'' leaders. The understanding or use of these more sophisticated procedures would require familiarity with the cited references and other pertinent literature, or consultation with the social scientist suggested above as interviewer or with a professional community organization consultant.

Each question in the interview schedule can be treated similarly to the question illustrated above. That is, various summaries can be developed by the use of tallies, frequency distributions, arrays, and sociograms.

The names of persons named and ranked by the foregoing procedures should not be disclosed beyond the individuals carrying out the study. This type of data should be treated as *confidential* and should be used only as a guide to determining individuals, organizations, and factions to involve in the health study-planning-action process.

Additional Observation

The procedures described give us mainly the names of power actors and power organizations. A ranking of leaders by number of times mentioned does not tell us the power structure, pattern of interaction, or clique structure among these actors. The questions on factions and ''go-betweens'' yield some insight into the pattern of interaction. The alert interviewer may also gain some insight by probe questions about which top leaders work together or against each other. After the interviews, additional insight can be gained by certain observations of the patterned relationship between influentials and organizations. After being sensitized by the leadership survey, one can quickly gain cues to interaction patterns by noting (1) names in the news, (2) sides taken in community issues, (3) visiting patterns, (4) who has coffee with whom, (5) who frequents whose office, and (6) kinship ties and other patterns.

Identifying the Decision-Making Process

After determining the reputed influentials, observing patterns of interaction, and reading the local newspaper, one can probably generalize about the process by which the important decisions are made in a community. One could develop standard questions in the interview schedule about where and how important decisions are made. Our experience in several studies indicates, however, that this is a question one keeps constantly in mind but does not ask all respondents. It may be asked as a probe question of a few individuals with whom the interviewer has established a high degree of confidence and rapport.

A few examples of the decision-making groups and processes will illustrate our point. The writer was asked to make a study of a small county seat of approximately 5,000 people. On the first day in town, he interviewed five knowledgeables and had a good indication of who the top leaders were. The next morning in a quiet motel restaurant, the four men who had been nominated most often as top influentials were observed having breakfast together. In addition, they met every morning for breakfast during the four days of the study. Further observations and inquiries indicated that this ''informal leadership clique'' met daily to discuss community and county affairs. They went their separate ways to meet lower level leaders for coffee at 10:30 a.m.

In a larger, more diversified community, it was found by the second day of study that important projects, to be successful, must be approved by the chamber of commerce. In a still larger and more complex community, there appeared to be a division of labor. A special industrial development organization exercised great power over economic matters. The local community social council (division of United Fund) was very influential in the social service areas of health, welfare, and recreation. The chamber of commerce appeared to lead in affairs relative to planning, development, and utilities. There was general consensus about each organization's areas of influence. In addition, the organizations were tied closely together by overlapping membership.

In a medium-sized community, it was found that basic decisions about which major project to push each year were made by a semisecret community development organization. Once the decision was made, the chamber of commerce, to which all the members of the semisecret organization belonged, carried the main burden of implementation. The decision making we have been discussing in these examples occurs in what was described in preceding sections as coordinative interstitial groups.

Both the leadership form or structure, as well as the persons who occupy the positions of leadership in a community, are constantly changing. The original identification study must, therefore, be updated. This updating is perhaps best achieved by continuous testing of the earlier conclusions reached about who or what are the influential individuals, organizations, and factions in a community. If continuous updating is not convenient, the identification study may be repeated at 2- or 3-year intervals.

The efforts to this point have been to discuss the nature of community and community leadership as well as to discuss a method of identifying the community leaders, organizations, and factions. An example of an interview schedule prepared for the identification of leaders, organizations, and factions in a Georgia metropolitan community is reproduced in Appendix A.

The idea of using reputational leaders and perhaps positional leaders to do more than identify themselves and other community leaders has been used in Kentucky and Georgia. This approach of using leaders as respondents to study needs, problems, attitudes, status of services, organizational structure, as well as leadership of the community, has been called *Community Reconnaissance Method.*

APPENDIX A
INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Macon, the county seat of Bibb County, is located on the ''fall line'' 6 miles from the geographical center of Georgia. The third largest city in Georgia, Macon had an estimated population in 1964 of 128,000, while Bibb County as a whole had a population of approximately 145,000. The dominant influence of Macon made it practical for studying community leadership to consider Macon and Bibb County as one unit.

The following interview schedule was designed to aid in the selection of leaders, organizations, and factions to involve in planning an adult community education program for Macon and Bibb County. The same procedures described in this monograph for the identification of leaders, organizations, and factions for health-planning purposes were considered appropriate as a base to involve these units in planning for adult education.

Reconnaissance for Selection of Leaders, Organizations, and Factions Macon—Bibb County, 1968

A. Identification

Date: ____________________ Interview Number __________

B. Introduction

Name
Organization
Sponsorship
Purposes
Confidential (see interviewer instructions)

C. Interview Schedule

1. First, would you please name about six or eight persons who you think have the most influence on general community affairs in the Macon-Bibb County community, regardless of whether or not you approve of the way they use their influence.

Name	Occupation/Position

2. What is the main occupation or position of each?

3. Next, would you name two or three persons whom you consider to be the most influential leaders in each of the following specialized areas? Those already named as general community leaders may also be named as leaders in specialized areas.

4. What is the main occupation or position of each?

Area		Name	Occupation/Position
Business and Industry	1.		
	2.		
	3.		
Politics	1.		
	2.		
	3.		
Education	1.		
	2.		
	3.		
Religion and Morals	1.		
	2.		
	3.		
Communications (Mass Media)	1.		
	2.		
	3.		
Welfare	1.		
	2.		
	3.		
Labor	1.		
	2.		
	3.		

Area		Name	Occupation/Position
Recreation	1.		
	2.		
	3.		
''Cultural'' Affairs	1.		
	2.		
	3.		
Law (Legal Affairs)	1.		
	2.		
	3.		
City or Community Planning	1.		
	2.		
	3.		
Women Leaders	1.		
	2.		
	3.		
Negro Leaders	1.		
	2.		
	3.		
Public Health Programs	1.		
	2.		
	3.		
Medicine	1.		
	2.		
	3.		

5. Name one or more groups or organizations having, in your opinion, influence on what happens in the Macon-Bibb County community.

6. Would you please rank these organizations from the most influential to the least influential.

Group or Organization	Rating (1, 2, 3, etc.)

7. What do you consider to be the basic *factions, cleavages,* or *areas of opposition* in the Macon-Bibb County community?

8. Who is the best person to act as a link between these factions?

Faction	Link

D. Respondent Characteristics

Finally, I would like to ask you some questions about yourself, not to identify you as a person, but to determine the opinions of broad classes of people. (DO NOT ASK FOR INFORMATION ALREADY KNOWN.)

1. Age: _____ 2. Sex: _________ 3. Race: __________

4. What is your main occupation and position (within an organization)?

Occupation	Position/Organization

5. How many years of education have you completed?
Elementary or High School __________ (number of years)
College __________ (number of years)
Other __________ (number of years)
__________ (what?)

6. Residence: Do you live within the City of Macon ________, in the suburbs ________, or in the county ________?

7. How long have you lived in Bibb County? ________ number of years

8. Have you lived here all of your life, except perhaps for a temporary absence due to military, schooling, etc.?
Yes____; No____

9. Do you presently hold any political/governmental office(s)?
Yes____; No____
If yes, which one(s)? ____________________
____

Elected ________
Appointed ________

E. Sample Introduction

I am ____________________ from the University of Georgia. I am here representing a joint effort among the university, your local junior college, and the Greater Macon Chamber of Commerce. My immediate purpose is to identify a number of general community leaders, specialized leaders, and influential organizations.

Later a team of faculty and staff members from the university and Macon Junior College will come in to interview these leaders concerning their views of the needs and problems of Macon and Bibb County.

Information about these needs and problems will be of use to your Macon Junior College in developing its adult community development program. It will also be of use to the Greater Macon Chamber of Commerce, the Macon-Bibb County Planning Commission,

the Heart of Georgia Planning and Development Commission, an
other leaders in continuing to ''Move Macon'' in your chose
direction. From the university's point of view, we are interested in studying through the eyes of local leaders the need
and problems of the community for the value the informatio
gained will have in helping us understand ''urban problems'' i
general. This understanding will aid us in making more realisti
our statewide program in urban and community development.

Please keep in mind that the answers you give me are confidential. That is, they will not be connected with your name. Only I will see your answers. From all the responses, I shall prepare a list of the names of leaders who will be asked to discuss the needs and problems of Macon and Bibb County with the research team that will visit your community in November.

5. What are the four techniques described for identifying community leaders?

6. Choose one of the four techniques discussed by Harold Nix in the preceding article which would be most appropriate for identifying each of the following community leaders.

   a. Mrs. Ash is president of the local League of Women Voters, active in her church, and one of the founders of the local recycling group. Her leadership role would be discovered using the ______________________________approach.

   b. Mr. Brown was instrumental in getting the Mayor to approve his community for urban renewal activity. Mr. Brown also helped promote the decision to relocate the police station in the area. ____________________________

   c. Thirteen well-known residents of Riverview identified Mr. Clark as an important and influential person in the community.

      ____

   d. Mr. Donegal is the ward leader of our community, and also works downtown. _____________________________

   e. The name of Evelyn N. keeps coming up as interviewers talk with community residents. Ms. N. holds no official position, and is not very active in voluntary organizations. Still, almost every person interviewed has suggested that she plays a role in community life. One woman stated: "I'd check with Evelyn N. before promoting any improvement."

ANSWER KEY

6. a. social-participation; b. decision-making; c. reputational;
   d. positional (or status); e. reputational.

167

7. The author of this reading, Harold Nix, actually focuses attention on one method. Which method or technique does he expound upon and why do you think he chose that method?

8. Suggest a method for discovering leaders in your own community, using techniques and methods which will give you more information than you have now.

C. NEIGHBORHOOD LEADERSHIP

So far we have discussed several generally accepted ways of identifying leaders in a community. Before concluding this module, we should raise some troublesome questions.

- Are the leaders who are identified by reputation, status, or previous decision-making roles the actual leaders of the area?
- Should leaders be developed and trained within the neighborhood?
- Are there so many leaders for the various roles that some of them may never be identified?
- Can any one person or any single group truly represent a community?

In his work with a group of teen-age boys the author noted that the true leader never asserted himself in public, never assumed the office of president, and never identified himself as the actual decision-maker. Some communities are like that; the real leaders do not appear to be leading, but play a role behind the scenes.

Saul Alinsky, founder of the People's Organization, points out that frequently, when a community is being studied, instead of searching out true, indigenous leadership, officials or agents look for persons similar to themselves. "The organizers themselves feel much more at home with these people, and find them more articulate and more able to talk in terms and values that [they] are comfortable with."[3]

Rather than simply identifying status leaders or those who have held power for years, organizers following Alinsky seek to recruit and train new leadership. The new leadership must come from the people themselves, speak the local language, and know their neighbors. Alinsky says:

> The building of a People's Organization can be done only by the people themselves. The only way that people can express themselves is through their leaders. By their leaders we mean those persons whom the local people define and look up to as leaders. Native or indigenous leadership is of fundamental importance in the attempt to build a People's Organization, for without the support and co-operative efforts of native leaders any such venture is doomed to failure in the very beginning.

> These indigenous leaders are in a very true sense the real representatives of the people of the community. They have earned their position of leadership among their people and are accepted as leaders. A People's organization must be rooted in the people themselves: if a People's Organization were to be thought of as a tree, the indigenous leaders would be the roots and the people themselves the soil. To rest on the soil and be nourished by the soil, the tree must be supported by its roots.[4]

Another troublesome aspect of leadership is this question: Who represents a community? In a broader sense, the question is: Can any person or group truly represent a community? Because in a sense no one can represent others, providing every citizen the opportunity to participate avoids endorsing leaders or the problem of identifying those who conceivably may represent an area or a sizeable number of the residents. At the very least if some citizens are to be "representatives," they should be elected by their peers and not selected by someone outside the group.

For public officials, some of these points are bound to cause difficulties. Leaders may change from time to time or from issue to issue. Perhaps leaders change because of neighborhood dissatisfaction with previous leaders or because of the high transiency in urban neighborhoods. So while officials certainly desire to designate or work with one or several representative citizens or with a representative group, this is seldom possible. No one resident may represent citizens on all issues, and even those who claim to represent may be spuriously making that claim. The officials must be accountable to all citizens. While they may frequently negotiate with the leaders, they should always be open to others, to evolving leaders, and especially to the indigenous leaders. This is one reason why elected community boards offer a partial solution to the problem of "representativeness."

9. Suggest from the readings or from your experience several reasons why leaders identified by the reputational approach may not be the actual leaders of a community.

10. What is Alinsky's position on community leadership?

11. Given the concept of "representativeness," is it possible for one person to represent a neighborhood? Why or why not?

D. THE NEIGHBORHOOD ATLAS STUDY

The Neighborhood Atlas study of Pittsburgh, described in the following article by Ahlbrandt and Cunningham, combines several of the ideas presented in this module by:

- seeking to identify neighborhoods;
- using map drawing sessions to get citizens' perceptions of their neighborhoods;
- helping to structure "communities" which would foster citizen participation;
- using questionnaires to get citizens' attitudes toward their communities;
- establishing a structure and a process which will help public officials to become more accountable.

The Atlas study helps us by providing several methods by which we can learn more about out neighborhoods or communities. It also suggests that each neighborhood is unique, and public officials may have to treat areas individually in order to be accountable. The survey suggests, too, that citizens feel considerable dissatisfaction with urban communities, and that government services can be improved.

PITT HELPS CITY MOVE TOWARD NEIGHBORHOOD GOVERNMENT

BY

ROGER S. AHLBRANDT, JR.

AND

JAMES V. CUNNINGHAM

*Reprinted with permission of the authors and of the publishers of Pitt Supplement in which this article originally appeared.

The University [of Pittsburgh] has been helping the City of Pittsburgh move into a new era of neighborhood government.

What began a few years ago as an unheralded Pitt-aided research project for the Pittsburgh Neighborhood Alliance has taken on major significance since January, when a new voter-approved home-rule charter went into effect, authorizing "community advisory boards" for the neighborhoods of Pittsburgh. With the charter providing that the first community boards can be elected in 1977, the city must soon be divided into community advisory board districts, each district to contain one or more whole neighborhoods. Since the Pitt-aided research project is identifying the boundaries are based on census tracts the project has become crucial to establishing the new boards, a fact given formal recognition by city government.

While Pittsburgh's Department of City Planning has long published a map of the city's neighborhoods, the boundaries as based on census tracts and do and do not match most neighborhood boundaries as seen by their residents. Census tracts in Pittsburgh are subdividions of wards, whose lines were drawn decades ago and are now obsolete.

Known as the Pittsburgh Neighborhood Atlas, the research effort not only is identifying neighborhood boundaries, but also aims to develop a neighborhood information system which could be useful to volunteer neighborhood organizations, the various departments of city government, and especially to the new community boards.

The story goes back to 1969 when thirty neighborhood organizations in Pittsburgh, sharing frustration in their dealings with city hall, federated into the Pittsburgh Neighborhood Alliance, and began campaigns to draw attention to the needs of neighborhoods, influence city budget-making, and aid individual neighborhoods with their larger problems.

At the time Pete Flaherty had just been elected mayor in a campaign in which he had promised more attention to the neighborhoods. Neighborhood leaders who formed the Alliance felt it was an opportune moment to seek a new, more productive relationship with city hall.

Faculty and field-work students from the Pitt School of Social Work aided neighborhood groups in organizing the new federation, and establishing its relations with city government.

Both benefits and conflicts flowed from the effort. As the new alliance pursued the relationship, especially in its attempts to influence the making of the city's annual operating budget, neighborhood leaders became acutely aware of their weakness in negotiating. Part of the weakness flowed from the lack of legitimacy of the volunteer, informal organizations, and part from a lack of current, precise information about their own neighborhoods.

Which neighborhoods were losing, which gaining, population? What was happening to housing, employment, and incomes? Was the number of shops and small service businesses growing or declining? What were the public service priorities of people? Which services in which neighborhoods were considered adequate, which inadequate? And so on.

To remedy this information weakness, staff from Pitt's Office of Urban and Community Services, together with faculty from the University Center for Urban Research and the School of Social Work, aided leaders of the Pittsburgh Neighborhood Alliance in designing an information system for the neighborhoods, based largely on concepts originated by the Institute of Neighborhood Studies in Washington, D.C. From the beginning the project benefited from the advice of the institute and its director, Milton Kotler, who is nationally known for his seminal book, Neighborhood Government, published in 1969.

A committee of 10th ward residents came together to help guide the project, and to give it local support. A large sample of households was visited, with 10th ward residents and Pitt students serving as interviewers. Householders were asked to identify their neighborhood and its boundaries as they saw them. They were asked for their views on a wide range of public services, and for information about themselves.

At the same time, 10th ward neighborhood leaders came together to assess their neighborhoods' boundaries, and to draw maps from the perceptions.

The results of the 10th ward project convinced those involved that a city-wide effort was feasible. The pilot project was the testing ground for the questionnaire (818 interviews were conducted) and the techniques used to determine neighborhood boundaries. Questions which did not produce useful information were deleted or altered in some manner prior to insertion in the final questionnaire for the city project. Three techniques were used to identify neighborhood boundaries in the 10th ward--two proved useful and were retained for the larger effort. These two were the group map-drawing sessions by neighborhood leaders, and questions asked in the individual interviews.

In addition to refining the research techniques, the 10th ward project made a significant contribution to the development of the information system which would eventually evolve into the Neighborhood Atlas. One neighborhood, Garfield, was selected for detailed analysis. Information from the survey was supplemented by hard, quantifiable data gathered from other sources in order to construct a comprehensive picture of the condition of the neighborhood.

Residential real estate transaction prices were used to depict the over-all direction of neighborhood change, the theory being that housing prices capture the quality of the neighborhood environment as well as attributes of the structure itself, and, therefore, an analysis of trends in market prices would provide an insight into the direction of neighborhood change. (For instance, declining prices relative to other locations would signal neighborhood decline.) Other indicators which were used to monitor aspects of neighborhood change included the number of mortgage loans (adjusted for the number of real estate transactions), real estate tax delinquency, building permits, and the number of welfare cases.

The analysis of the Garfield data convinced the researchers and the citizens who were involved that the information system could produce useful results, useful in the sense of not only showing the direction in which the neighborhood was moving but also suggesting courses of remedial action.

For instance, in Garfield a pessimistic picture was portrayed. Residential real estate transactions, deflated by the Consumer Price index, showed a net decrease during the period studied; mortgages were on the decline; tax delinquency was increasing; and welfare cases were on the rise. These indicators reveal a neighborhood which has continued to decline despite $5-million in renewal funds invested in the neighborhood by government since 1969.

In order to develop a strategy to counteract decline, more specific data was necessary, and this was available from the household survey. Garfield residents were more dissatisfied with their neighborhood than residents of the other 10th ward neighborhoods. Fifty-four per cent of the respondents felt their neighborhood was unsafe, and 62 per cent were dissatisfied with recreational services. The survey data therefore pinpointed some of the major causes of resident unhappiness, and do so in a manner which is useful to city officials and citizen organizations. This type of an information system should be invaluable to the community advisory boards when they are created.

In order to experiment with the form for a neighborhood information system, the Garfield data were packaged in a 16-page booklet, the cover of which shows a map of the city depicting Garfield's general location. The Graphic Arts Department of Pitt's Communications Center made a significant contribution to the project by helping to design, lay out, and assemble the Garfield Mini-Atlas. This sample atlas is being circulated among potential users to elicit comments.

As the Neighborhood Atlas project was being designed and tested, other opportunity came the way of the Pittsburgh Neighborhood Alliance. An election for a charter commission was held in the city in 1972. Several citizens active in neighborhood affairs, including Gabor Kish, president of the Alliance, won election to the commission.

The new charter commission hired Professor James Cunningham of the School of Social Work as its director, and began an exhaustive study of Pittsburgh's city government, aided by considerable involvement of citizens and organizations from throughout the city. So the year 1972 saw charter reform and Atlas research steaming along on parallel tracks.

Charter commission members found that a chief complaint of Pittsburgh people was a lack of access to city government. For more than a century prior to 1911 the neighborhoods had had representatives in select and common councils. During 1911 the State legislature abolished the two large councils and replaced them with a single, 9-member, at-large council. Neighborhood representation in city government ended.

A major finding of the charter commission was that "Mechanisms need to be provided to ensure citizens the means to communicate with city government, and to participate in its processes."

The commission, after many public hearings and long discussion and debate, decided to retain the small at-large council as a policy-making body with city-wide view, but to authorize community advisory boards to be the voices of citizens and neighborhoods.

This was one of the most controversial provisions in the proposed charter offered to Pittsburgh voters at the November 1974 election. Blacks said the boards did not offer enough power to the neighborhoods. The police union said the boards offered too much. Mayor Flaherty criticized the provision for advisory boards, but sat out the referendum. The voters said "yes," 51,484 to 43,146.

During 1974 the charter commission became interested enough in the 10th ward pilot effort to provide some funding. The commission also inserted a requirement in the charter that districts for the new community advisory boards be drawn with consideration for "areas of the city recognized as neighborhoods because of historical, geographic, or other factors." The charter commission report also directed that "no traditional neighborhoods should be split in drawing district lines."

At that time, Pittsburghers in the neighborhoods and city government knew of no proven, acceptable method for delineating the boundaries of an urban neighborhood. Hence, the boundary determination experimentation in the 10th ward became of crucial importance.

As the map-drawing and citizen-perception method employed in the 10th ward proved workable, the Pittsburgh Neighborhood Alliance moved to expand the Atlas project city-wide--again with aid from University of Pittsburgh faculty, staff, and students.

Strong encouragement came also from city government. On May 5, 1975, city council, by a 9-0 vote, authorized a $25,000 city contract with the Atlas project to aid it in producing boundaries for all the neighborhoods of the city.

With the 10th ward project fully milked for ideas and direction by mid-1975, planning for the city-wide effort was accelerated and completed by year's end. Execution of the city-wide Atlas effort began in January 1976 with volunteers and staff beginning a long tramp across the city, holding map-drawing sessions every week with leaders in one or more neighborhoods.

An overhead projector was used to orient citizens to neighborhood maps and the art of map-drawing. Most participatants caught on quickly and by June, 1976, 40 sessions had been held and a thousand revealing citizen-drawn maps collected.

Map-drawing sessions mainly draw neighborhood activists. So, at the same time the sessions were being held, a massive mail survey was undertaken to gain the perceptions and attitudes of a large cross section of that vast majority of residents who never go to meetings.

Prior to undertaking the city-wide mailing, the questionnaire was pretested to determine if the shortened survey instrument with changes inserted would produce useful results, and also to obtain the response rate (a 5 per cent sample was needed; therefore, the number required to be sent out depended upon the expected rate of response). Three hundred questionnaires were mailed in the pretest, and approximately one-third were returned in a usable form.

The city-wide effort was designed to survey a sample of registered voters. To obtain names and addresses, a contract was entered into with Allegheny County's Bureau of Elections. A 15 per cent sample of all registered voters was drawn from each of the city's 423 voting districts. The initial mailing included 29,000 households, and a 5 per cent or better response rate was achieved in 316 districts. For the other 107 districts, another 15 per cent sample was randomly selected, excluding those in the first sample, and a mailing of an additional 6,000 households was undertaken. The results are not yet available. However, if any district is still deficient, telephone interviews will be conducted.

The magnitude of the mailing and the subsequent handling of the returns necessitated well-developed procedures to efficiently catalog the results and key-punch the data for computer processing. Staff from Pitt's Urban Research Center worked closely with the Atlas staff to devise a workable system for expeditiously handling in excess of 9,000 returns. Most of the data have been prepared for computer processing, and the preliminary analysis is under way.

The questionnaire developed for the city-wide mailing, shortened considerably from the 10th ward pilot, consists of 17 questions, several having up to 12 parts. The questions concentrate upon neighborhood boundaries, neighborhood problems (unsafe streets, stray dogs, vacant buildings, etc.), and resident satisfaction with public services (police, schools, parks and recreation, street maintenance, etc.). Respondents are also asked to comment on their reasons for dissatisfaction. In addition, socio-economic and demographic data are requested.

The information will be combined with data provided by Pittsburgh's Department of City Planning to form a mini-atlas for each neighborhood, and for each community advisory board when formalized. The data will include residential real estate transactions, the number of conventional mortgages loans, information on population and income provided by R.L. Polk and Company, and the attitudinal data from the survey.

This information will facilitate an analysis of neighborhood problems and resident satisfaction across all of Pittsburgh's neighborhoods. Elected officials and professionals in various city departments will have a concrete basis for assessing the quality of the services being delivered. Although quality is a subjective evaluation on the part of city residents, there is no reason to believe that citizens' perceptions should not constitute a valid proxy for variations in the actual quality of services provided.

The availability of these data marks the first time that quality indicators for analyzing public service delivery have been available, and it is at least a starting point for attempting to assess where neighborhood needs are the greatest. This information should be a useful input into the formulation of the city's operating, capital improvement, and community development budgets.

The Neighborhood Atlas will also be helpful to the elected community advisory boards, as well as to voluntary neighborhood organizations. The Atlas will identify neighborhood problems and will enable priorities to be established for each neighborhood on the basis of fact, not bias or emotion. Representatives of a neighborhood will thus be armed with hard data and will be in a stronger position to articulate their demands for improved service delivery to the appropriate city departments and elected officials.

The information system may help to introduce more relationality into the city's budgetary process. A neighborhood will be able to argue its case by pointing to its relationship to the rest of the city. Likewise, governmental officials will be in a more secure position to turn down the requests of neighborhoods which have outperformed the rest of the city. To the extent that these results occur, resources will be allocated to neighborhoods demonstrating the greatest need.

While the 40 map-drawing sessions mainly have produced data about neighborhood boundaries, they also have served as information, discussion, and question-and-answer sessions on the imminent community advisory boards. The boards are complex in design, and the chance to inform a thousand neighborhood activists about their intricacies has not been wasted. Questions, doubts, and comments were plentiful at the sessions, and well-informed persons were on hand to answer.

The most-frequently-asked questions concerned the powers of the boards, and their relation to mayor, council, and other parts of city government. Initial powers of the new community advisory boards will be limited to:

- reviewing and advising council and the mayor on proposed zoning changes in the community district;
- reviewing and advising council and mayor on the social and physical plans for the district;
- reviewing and advising council and the mayor on the distribution of city services to the district;
- meeting annually with the mayor and council to discuss problems, needs, and public affairs of the district;
- mandating a meeting within two weeks with the appropriate head of a major administrative unit of the city to discuss a specific district problem.

Council may, by ordinance, give additional powers and duties to the boards. Powers may also be added by initiative and referendum. An example of a potential additional power would be a veto over zoning proposals.

Future powers granted likely will depend upon the strength, competence, and intiative of the new boards, as well as on the size of the constituencies they build. If the boards are weak and ineffective, they will remain advisory, and perhaps even fade away. If the boards are aggressive and productive, the public is likely to support additional powers.

The boards will be a legitimate part of city government, and their members will be public officials, although they will not be paid. Board members will be elected at regular municipal elections along with council members.

This move by Pittsburgh to a preliminary form of neighborhood government is part of a national movement. More than twenty cities, including Portland, Ore., New York City, Birmingham, Ala., Indianapolis, Ind., Newton, Mass., Dayton, Ohio, and Washington, D.C., have taken some steps toward establishing a formal role for neighborhood groups in local government.

Washington's "advisory neighborhood commissions" were elected for the first time in February 1976, and are now going through birth pains, arguing whether citizens who are not commission members are to be allowed to speak at regular weekly meetings. Washington has 30 boards, and each is to have a substantial grant of tax funds to spend for neighborhood purposes, a power not given to Pittsburgh's boards, at least not yet.

National recognition of a need for vigorous urban neighborhoods--including their exercise of governmental powers--has come from such respected bodies as the Committee for Economic Development, made up of leading corporate executives and educators, the American Institute of Architects, and the federal government's own Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations. These organizations see the neighborhood as a principal source of citizen loyalty and citizen effort, two essential elements for maintaining and improving cities. The movement for neighborhood government comes at a time of continued population decline for most cities, and is viewed as a possible psychological aid to slowing the decline. (Although, of course, not all students of cities view population reduction as a bad thing.)

Population decline has been particularly acute in Pittsburgh, where there has been a net loss of 200,000 persons since 1950. The city's coming community advisory boards may be a new stimulus for reinvigoration of the city's residential areas.

In addition to approving boundary lines for the new board districts, Pittsburgh's city council must write and pass a complex ordinance setting up the organization and procedures for the boards. Here the council will have more aid from the University of Pittsburgh/Pittsburgh Neighborhood Alliance combination. Jon Robison, a master's student in the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs, who also serves as vice-president of the Alliance, is writing a model ordinance as his thesis.

Of great consequence to the boards will be the attitude of Pittsburgh's next mayor. Pete Flaherty has announced he will not seek re-election in 1977. The first boards will be sworn in the same day as the new mayor. If there are aggressive boards and a mayor who supports the notion of neighborhood participation in city government, it could mean a significant and probably constructive change in the way things are run in Pittsburgh. However, if the new mayor ignores the boards or opposes decentralization of power, there could be great civic conflict and perhaps accelerated decline.

Meantime, Pitt people and neighborhood folk work enthusiastically, building the framework for what they hope will be an effective and constructive exercise of government powers by neighborhood people. As Dean David Epperson of the School of Social Work has said, "Our students and faculty have both learned and contributed much in this joint effort. It is only to be hoped their contributions will have lasting effect in helping make Pittsburgh a city infused with vigorous civic life, proud of its neighborhood democracy and justice."

Dr. Ahlbrandt *is an associate professor and* Dr. Cunningham *a professor in the School of Social Work. Each serves on the board of the Pittsburgh Neighborhood Atlas, and Dr. Ahlbrandt is currently chairperson of the board.*

SOME SURVEY RESPONSES

Table 1

NEIGHBORHOOD CHANGE

	% of Total Responses	
Question	**Garfield**	**Morningside**
1. Do you think this neighborhood is getting better or getting worse?		
a. Getting much worse	14%	5%
b. Getting a little worse	56	30
c. Staying the same	9	32
d. Getting a little better	12	20
e. Getting much better	—	4
f. Don't know	9	9
	100%	100%
2. In general this is a pretty good neighborhood. Do you		
a. Strongly agree	4%	13%
b. Agree	65	81
c. Disagree	24	4
d. Strongly disagree	4	1
e. Don't know	3	1
	100%	100%
3. If you had your choice would you continue living in this neighborhood?		
a. No	35%	15%
b. Yes	65	85
	100%	100%

Source: 10th Ward Household Survey, 1974.

Table 2

QUALITY OF LIFE

	% of Total Responses	
Question	**Garfield**	**Morningside**
1. Would you consider this a safe neighborhood?		
a. No	52%	16%
b. Yes	44	80
c. Don't know	4	4
	100%	100%
2. The following is a list of problems usually associated with various urban communities. Please rate the problems as they apply to your neighborhood on a scale from 0 to 9 (0 = not a problem; 9 = a very serious problem).		
	Average Rating	
a. Unsafe streets	5.5	1.8
b. Poor housing	3.3	0.7
c. Vandalism	5.2	3.2
d. Drug abuse	4.7	2.7
e. Rats	1.6	1.6
f. Burglary of property	5.1	3.1
g. Poor police-community relations	3.5	1.4
h. Lack of recreation facilities	4.8	1.9
i. Alcoholism	4.5	1.5

Source: 10th Ward Household Survey, 1974.

12. Each of the following statements describes a community in terms of one of the meanings described in part A of this Module (i.e., social, political, business, perception) for identifying and describing your community. Choose the basis for defining community which best matches each of the following statements.

    a. The Pittsburgh neighborhood atlas program emphasized which meaning? ____________________

    b. Ward 15, New Haven. ____________________

    c. The East Liberty Shopping district. ____________________

    d. All of our activities and interests take place within the Northside area. ____________________

    e. This area includes many Central Europeans their social clubs are all here. ____________________

    f. Citizens of Shadyside consider their community to be bounded by Baum Boulevard and Craig Street. ____________________

13. What are the powers of the new Community Advisory Boards to be formed in Pittsburgh?

14. What other information did the Neighborhood Atlas project seek to obtain from its surveys?

ANSWER KEY

12. a. perception; b. political; c. business; d. social; e. social; f. perception.

FOOTNOTES

1. The O. M. Collective (ed.), The Organizer's Manual, New York: Bantam Books, 1971, pp. 14-15.

2. William A. Gamson, "Reputation and Resources in Community Politics," American Journal of Sociology, September, 1966, p. 30.

3. Saul Alinsky, Reveille for Radicals (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946), p. 66.

4. Ibid., p. 87.

ASSIGNMENT

The following questions should be answered as completely as possible on separate paper. Two copies of your responses should be mailed to the instructor. One copy will be returned to you with the instructor's comments and the other will be retained as part of your course record.

a. *Identify your community and tell which of the four meanings of community best identifies your community.*

b. *Describe your own community (one you live in, work in or know quite well) in terms of two dimensions:*

   1. *Leadership*
      and one of the following:
   2. *Residents (or)*
      Housing (or)
      Cultural Institutions (or)
      Physical Aspects (or)
      Relationships with other comunities

   (Unless it is obvious, indicate how you obtained your information.)

c. *What information concerning* *one* *of the above dimensions do you still need to obtain? Since there is always additional information to be obtained about a community, the purpose of this part of the assignment is for you to consider what kind of information about a community is NOT readily available--information that must be obtained by means of surveys, special studies, interviews, etc. This question, therefore, really requests that you prepare an outline for a research proposal or project that you would like to undertake if you had the necessary resources. Use the following three steps to help you structure your outline.*

   1. *List briefly the specific information items you still need.*
   2. *Explain why you need this information*
   3. *Suggest the method (or methods) by which you would systematically obtain this information.*

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Books on methods of community study [see the note on the bottom of page 4.7]:

    a. Arensberg, Conrad M. "The Community Study Method." American Journal of Sociology (September 1954): pp. 109-124.

    b. Colcord, Joanna C. Your Community. Revised ed., New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1947.

    c. Newlin, Joseph, et.al. Organizing and Conducting Community Surveys. Fort Collins, Colorado, Community Resource Development, Cooperative Extension Service, Colorado State University; 1976.

    d. U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census; Census Data for Community Action. Washington, D.C. Government Printing Office, August, 1975.

    e. Warren, Roland L., Studying Your Community. New York: Free Press, 1965.

    g. Young, Pauline. Scientific Social Surveys and Research. Englewood Cliffs, NJ.: Prentice Hall, 1966.

    h. Warren, Donald I., and Warren, Rachelle B., The Neighborhood Organizer's Guidebook. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, forthcoming.

2. Warren, Roland L., "A Community Model." In Readings in Community Organization Practice, pp. 20-27. Edited by Ralph M. Kramer and Harry Sprecht. Englewood Cliffs, NJ.: Prentice Hall, 1975.

3. Books on community leaders and power structure studies:

    a. Agger, Robert et.al. The Rulers and the Ruled. New York, Wiley, 1964.

    b. Banfield, Edward, and Wilson, James Q. City Politics. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965.

    c. Dahl, Robert. Who Governs? New Haven, Yale University Press, 1961.

    d. Hunter, Floyd. Community Power Structure. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1958.

    e. Polsby, Nelson. Community Power and Political Theory. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1963.

    f. Presthus, Robert. Men at the Top: A Study in Community Power. New York, Oxford University Press, 1964.

PA 816
PUBLIC ACCOUNTABILITY

MODULE 5:
COMMUNICATING FOR ACCOUNTABILITY

PREPARED

BY:

DR. CLIFFORD HAM

UNIVERSITY EXTERNAL STUDIES PROGRAM

Developed by the University External Studies Program and the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs, University of Pittsburgh. Under Contract to The Urban Management Curriculum Development Project, The National Training and Development Service, 5028 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20016. Funded by The Office of the Assistant Secretary for Policy Development and Research, U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development.

MODULE 5: COMMUNICATING FOR ACCOUNTABILITY

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Title Page

Key Terms and Concepts XII.5.1

Introduction XII.5.1

Learning Objectives XII.5.3

Overview XII.5.4

Module Readings

A. The Importance of Effective Communication XII.5.5

B. Methods of Communication XII.5.11

C. Case Studies: Examples of Innovation in Communication . XII.5.23

D. Accountability of the Media XII.5.33

E. Conclusion XII.5.36

Footnotes XII.5.38

Assignment XII.5.39

Selected Bibliography XII.5.40

MODULE 5: COMMUNICATING FOR ACCOUNTABILITY

KEY TERMS AND CONCEPTS

- ● Communication
- ● Information
- ● Media
- ● Data
- ● Feedback
- ● Sender
- ● Message
- ● Receiver

INTRODUCTION

This Module relates the concept of accountability to communication. The public official who is trying to be accountable will keep citizens informed about plans and proposals, decisions, and progress in achieving goals. The official will use variouscommunication devises: radio, television, published reports, and letters.

Two-way communication is necessary for accountability. This means that the official not only sends messages to the public but, in return, receives their messages. When citizens do make suggestions, criticisms, or requests, the accountable official must respond quickly and appropriately. Feedback is an essential part of the process.

Several means of communication are discussed: newsletters and similar publications, newspapers and television, telephones, and letters. Not only officials but citizens and their groups can utilize these means, so the suggestions are generally valid for citizens too. It should not be forgotten that citizens must communicate their ideas promptly and accurately to the officials. In a time when the public tends to mistrust and resist advertising and public relations efforts, both groups must take precautions to ensure that the messages sent are genuine and that the messages are received without distortion. Several examples of effective communication are presented. A final section discusses the accountability of the media. Because of their impact on municipal policy-making, the press, radio, and television services must provide an adequate and unbiased supply of news and information to the public.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

When you have completed the readings and assignment for this module, you should be able to:

1. Differentiate between one-way and two-way communication.
2. Compare the usefulness of various communication methods in achieving public accountability.
3. Recommend communication methods useful in responding to citizen-initiated communication.
4. Propose some solutions to the problem of communicating with diverse groups, such as racial, ethnic, and other minority groups.
5. Explain the relationship between accountability and the use of communication skills.
6. Demonstrate the use of letter writing as one means of effectively and accountably communicating with citizens.

OVERVIEW

Objectives	Tasks	Resources	Evaluation
1. Differentiate between one-way and two-way communication.	Study Questions 1, 2	Module Reading: A	Self
2. Compare the usefulness of various communication methods in achieving public accountability.	Study Questions 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10	Module Readings: A, B, C	Self
3. Recommend methods useful in responding to citizen-initiated communication.	Study Questions 6, 7, 8, 9, 10	Module Reading: B	Self
4. Propose some solutions to the problem of communicating with diverse groups, such as racial, ethnic, and other minority groups.	Study Questions 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 11, 12, 13	Module Readings: A, B, C	Self
5. Explain the relationship between accountability and the use of communication skills.	Study Questions 14, 15, 16	Module Reading D	Self
6. Demonstrate the use of letter writing as one means of effectively and accountably communicating with citizens.	Module Assignment	Module Reading and your own experience	Instructor Feedback

A. THE IMPORTANCE OF EFFECTIVE COMMUNICATION

Most of us have played the game of "Gossip." Players sit in a circle; one member starts a simple message around the circle; each participant repeats to a neighbor on one side exactly what he/she thinks was said by the neighbor on the other side. The end results are often hilarious. What started as "Mary has on a pretty dress" may end up as "His honor is in great distress."

In real life failures of communication may be serious. Citizens leave a public meeting believing the officials have promised to build a new road. What the officials said (or meant to say) was "As soon as we can find the money we will certainly consider building a new road." But the officials have carefully hedged any promise. First, no resources are presently available for any roads, and, second, the proposed new road will be one of several that will be considered. When failure of communication, such as in either of these examples, occurs, mistrust and disillusionment may develop, probably on both sides.

Communication is directly related to public accountability. The public official who is accountable uses a variety of communication methods to keep citizens informed and to give them the opportunity to participate. Some of these means which are routinely utilized include:

- Reports to the electorate during political campaigns;
- Annual reports and others required by law;
- Reports to citizens (additional reports not necessarily required);
- Open meetings;
- Newspaper reports.

There are many other opportunities for officials to demonstrate their concern for accountability. In this module we will focus mainly on these communication vehicles: newsletters, radio and television, telephones, and correspondence. In subsequent modules, we will discuss group meetings, face-to-face contacts, and public assemblies.

Some public officials think of communicating only on a couple of occasions: (1) when funds are being requested for a program or project;

and (2) when a project has been completed and a favorable response may be anticipated.

Communication for accountability means communicating at other times in the decision-making process and for other reasons. Four phases in program planning and implementation are suggested when communication is especially important:

1. The problem phase: What are the problems citizens report? What upsets them? How do they judge the existing level of services and programs? What do they want?
2. The planning phase: What goals and objectives can we agree upon? What levels of services do citizens desire? What policies are desirable? What issues do these raise?
3. The decision phase: What role do citizens have in deciding? How are citizens wishes determined? What are the alternatives which are discussed? What are the benefits and the costs of the alternatives?
4. The evaluation phase: Was the program successful? Did it solve problems? What is citizen reaction to the program? Did it meet goals?

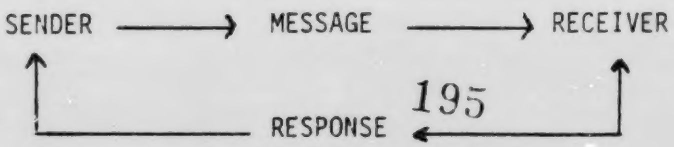
Effective communication at each of these stages at least gives citizens the opportunity to participate. They are informed of the various aspects of the decisions which must be made. They are kept informed of progress toward a decision. Without such information they can hardly participate meaningfully. The official who does not communicate is blocking any meaningful participation and cannot be considered "accountable." But what is communication? And more important, what is effective communication?

Communication is often pictured as a process including three elements:

SENDER ⟶ MESSAGE ⟶ RECEIVER

Certainly if any of these elements is missing there can be no communication.

However, one more element should be added: the response or feedback (sometimes referred to as the feedback loop or closing the circle). So our diagram would look like this:



Now the sender has some evidence that the massage has gotten through. The receiver, at least, has indicated that the message has been delivered. The receiver's response to the sender may also indicate that the message was understood and even what will be done about the message. As ham radio operators say after copying down a transmission, "message received"; citizen band users state "10-4" which means "O.K., I understand."

The public official is often in the role of sender. The official intends to communicate to the citizens what the government expects to do. The mayor announces the opening of a new complaint center. The news is sent out by press release, newspaper accounts, word of mouth, interdepartmental memos, and a television interview. From the City Hall point-of-view, the message has been sent.

But what was the message? We have seen how messages can get distorted. Furthermore, in a day when citizens tend to place little confidence in government, the message may appear to be something other than a straight-forward announcement.

Few adults today will consider an announcement as "truth." In the preceding example, officials intended to communicate a "message" which should transmit the information that a complaint center has opened. Some citizens may see the announcement as part of a political campaign for the mayor's re-election. Others may see is as a public relations gimmick or as propaganda.* Because they distrust advertising, more of the public may feel that "the mayor is blowing his/her own horn." Others may see the announcement only as a "trial balloon"; that is, the administration is testing the climate of public opinion and will subsequently decide whether or not to open the center. In our example we assume that response is desired and anticipated--response that will be measured by visits to the center. But we recognize that citizens may receive the announcement with a variety of meanings that will not all be measured by such visits.

Another way of looking at a message is to analyze the content. Is the message simply a collection of words, or facts; or is there information in the message? Often what is intended to be information, or a meaningful presentation, turns out to be just "data." For the uninitiated, stock market quotations are only "data." But the stockholder receives information from such a listing of stock prices. A buying or selling reaction to changes in price closes the feedback loop and clearly indicates that the message got through.

---

*Propaganda is defined as: "doctrines, ideas, arguments or allegations spread by deliberate effort through any medium of communication in order to further increase one's cause or to damage an opposing cause." (Webster's Third New International Dictionary)

The receivers, obviously, vary also. Was the message relevant? Were they in a position to hear? Was the choice of media for the announcement geared to the correct constituency? For example, a message of interest to Black voters should probably appear in the Black-published newspaper, not the more generally circulated metropolitan daily. Unless the intended receiver gets the message, communication has not occurred

Effective communication requires that the sender get affirmation that the message got through. There are many ways of testing this. Letters and telephones calls, personal contacts, some specific response which is requested, or the number of people who show up to attend the opening may indicate some measure of reception. The city may conduct a sample survey to ascertain how many heard the message and how many may attend the opening. A less positive response may be that in the next election the mayor is turned out of office!

This total process of communication may be labelled "two-way communication." An interaction wherein two people send messages and respond meaningfully is two-way communication. If only one person talks and there is no response, presumably only "one-way communication" is occuring. Two-way communication may be evident in a debate between two politicians, whereas a speech from a podium may be only one-way communication. The wise public official will seek to maintain two-way communication even if the results may be painful at times.

A special obstacle to two-way communications is apparent when officials have different educational and/or cultural backgrounds from that of their constituents. Sometimes communities are composed of a variety of racial, ethnic, or other cultural groups. A college in the community may bring many youth to the scene who seem to speak a different language. How do public officials get their messages accurately through to the citizens when interpretations of words can differ markedly?

Feedback is especially important when people have different backgrounds. Sometimes the message may have to be translated into another language; in New York City and Miami, official messages must be conveyed in Spanish as well as English. The official should take pains to see that any messages dispatched are in as simple English as can be written. Messages should be reviewed by several persons to make sure they say what is intended. Finally, the solution may be to retain someone from the particular group in question to carry the message personally and to translate the message and its intent to the people with different backgrounds. Even this process should be tested by feedback: Are folks responding to the message? Is the message getting through accurately?

STUDY QUESTIONS

1. Draw, for your own use, a diagram of the communication process, showing the four necessary elements or ingredients. Then, using the format and arrangement of the diagram, describe a case from real life to illustrate the full communication process.

2. Indicate, by examples, the difference between two-way communication and one-way communication.

3. Differentiate in your own words among: propaganda, public relations, advertising, and political campaign rhetoric?

4. Suggest several ways in which politicians may judge whether their messages are "getting through" and whether they are getting response.

5. What means are suggested as ways in which officials can communicate with groups who have different educational, ethnic, racial, or other backgrounds?

B. METHODS OF COMMUNICATION[2]

There are many means of communicating with the public of which several are discussed here: newsletters and similar publications; media, especially newspapers, radio, and television; the telephone; and letters. These are emphasized because they are the most used and they reach large numbers of people. Other means not covered may include: posters, dramatic events, information centers, coffeehouses, films, community bulletin boards, and pamphlets.

These skills of communication are also useful for citizens and citizen groups. It is vital that citizens communicate their needs, their ideas, and their comments to public officials. While public assemblies are often viewed as the primary vehicle for ascertaining public views, in reality much more communication occurs informally via telephone calls, letters, personal contacts, or the media. Citizens who anticipate feedback from officials must take pains to be sure their messages get through accurately and in time for appropriate action.

1. Outreach publications

Agencies, municipalities, and all kinds of organizations use a variety of newsletters, magazines, and other publications to become known to the public. Newsletters are favoriate mechanisms for communicating with the community in that they are generally low cost, emphasize local news, are flexible, and take a community-service approach. The limitations which their users must face are that newsletters frequently require a lot of work for little response, they must compete with many other newsletters, and they are not always read.

When using newsletters, the following suggestions, which have been abstracted from The Organizer's Manual, should be kept in mind.[1]

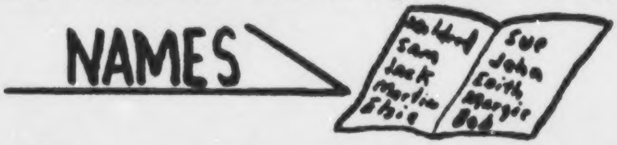
- Newsletters help in the organizing of groups or communities; they may range from single sheets to neighborhood newsletters.
- Regularity of publication is important.
- News gathering is important, but "exhortations or long excursions into theory" will turn the reader off.
- Check your news carefully; try to be sure it is correct.
- "People are news"--use names, report marriages, retirements, social events.
- Free announcements of local events help readership; also they may broaden the community base.
- Select an appropriate name, design a permanent heading; and stick with them.
- Emphasize neatness and clarity; a shoddy job may do more harm than good.
- Distribution should be handled by community people themselves; newsletters may be given out at homes, shops, factories, or other community locations. Sometimes churches will distribute newsletters with their weekly bulletins.

Also note the following two pages from a publication of the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF) for a constituency with limited background on municipal affairs.

The two pages from SCEF probably "communicate" well because of simple language and the pictures; that is, the message gets through to us. Note, however, that, unless asked for, there is no feedback. Some ways of measuring response are: attendance at an advertised meeting; letters written in response to articles; or requests for "freebies" offered in the newsletter.

WHAT MAKES A GOOD COMMUNITY NEWSPAPER?

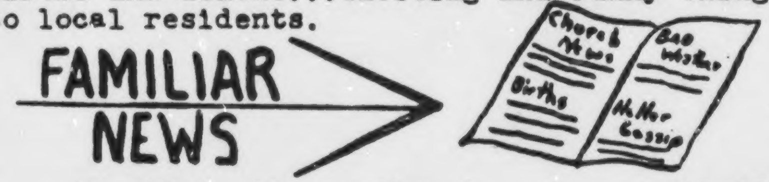
1. Use as many names as you can squeeze in. People love to see their own names in print. Spell them right. A good page should have at least 20 names on it. Sometimes you can list all the people who attended a meeting. Or who voted for something. Or who signed a petition.


NAMES
Sam
Jack
Martin
Elsie
Sue
John
Keith
Margie
Bob

There are many ways of getting more names into your paper. This will help you sell the paper—and get more people to read it after they buy it.

2. Print stories about things most people have already heard about. People like to read about familiar things.

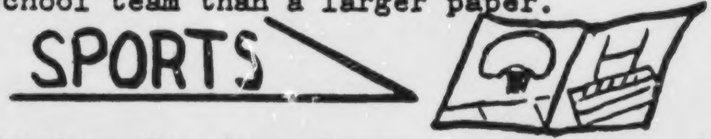
So write about church services...club meetings... accidents...people moving into or out of your community... births and deaths...exciting and funny things that happen to local residents.


FAMILIAR
NEWS
Church News
Bad Weather
Births
Gossip

Sometimes the weather is news—particularly when it's bad.

Gossip columns are big favorites, if you can find a gossipy person to write them. People love to read about who is visiting who, and who got engaged to who.

3. Most men like to read about sports. Since yours is a community paper, you can give more space to the local high school team than a larger paper.



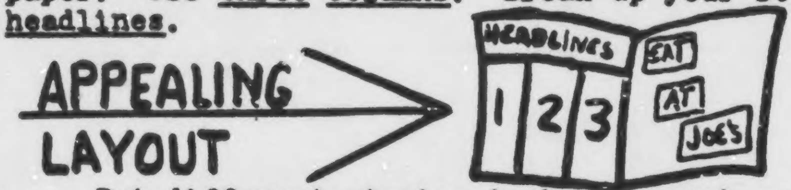
Print quotes from players on the team. You can become known as the only paper that really covers the local sports scene.

4. Provide useful information, such as gardening and cooking hints. Free classified ads will also be popular.

USEFUL
SERVICES
Want Ads
Pickup
Time To Plant:
Beans
Corn

Reprinted with permission from Southern Conference Educational Fund.

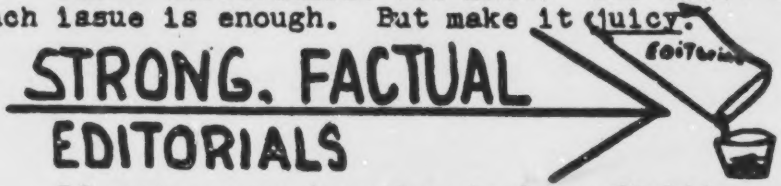
5. There should be plenty of white space in your newspaper. Use three columns. Break up your stories with headlines.


APPEALING LAYOUT
HEADLINES
1
2
3
EAT
AT
JOE'S

Put different stories in boxes, such as we have done in this booklet. It makes your paper easier to read.

Don't let your paper look like a page of a book (see THE MOUNTAIN NEWS on the next-to-the-last page of this booklet).

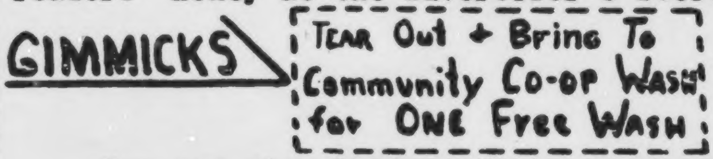
6. Don't editorialize too much. One short editorial in each issue is enough. But make it juicy.


STRONG, FACTUAL EDITORIALS
EDITORIAL

If your paper is going to be a fighting paper, talk about problems that bother your readers. Write strongly. And back up your position with facts.

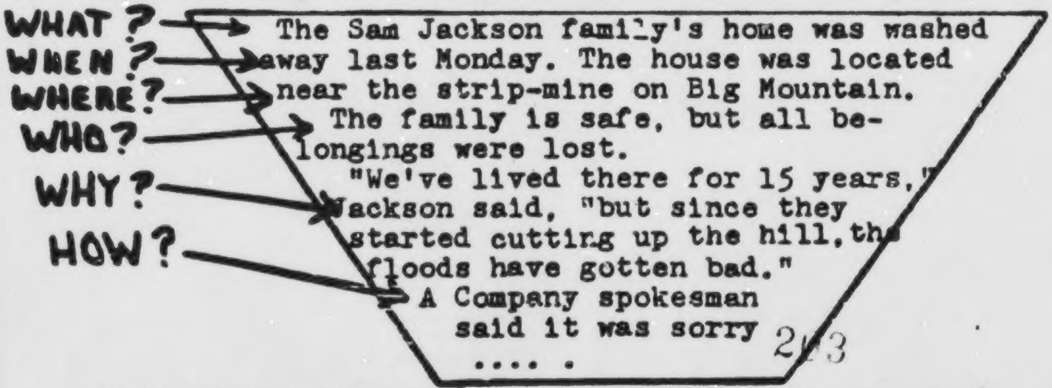
7. Many newspapers print Letters To The Editor. Sometimes you can get a lively discussion going among your readers through this column.

Some newspapers print coupons which will save their readers' money at the advertiser's store.


GIMMICKS
Tear Out + Bring To
Community Co-op Wash
for ONE Free Wash

You can also hold contests, such as a short essay contest on "What Our Community Needs Most." Then you can print the prize-winning essay.

8. When writing news stories, answer these six questions:


WHAT?
WHEN?
WHERE?
WHO?
WHY?
HOW?

The Sam Jackson family's home was washed away last Monday. The house was located near the strip-mine on Big Mountain.

The family is safe, but all belongings were lost.

"We've lived there for 15 years," Jackson said, "but since they started cutting up the hill, the floods have gotten bad."

A Company spokesman said it was sorry

.... .

It is usually best to cut out all unnecessary words. Make your sentences short. And sweet.

2. Newspapers

A municipality does not have to publish its own newsletter if an appropriate newspaper is circulated in the community. Such a journal should cover local news, provide adequate coverage of official happenings, and be read by a substantial number of residents of the community. Moreover, such a newspaper may be an ideal vehicle in which to raise an issue, present a viewpoint, or start a community discussion on a controversial proposal. Officials or citizens may initiate discussion of issues.

Many persons, officials as well as citizens, are wary of approaching newspaper editors because they feel that their news is not important enough. Sometimes they do not know whom to call to get a story written or how to prepare a press release. It is important to keep in mind that newspapers exist to serve their communities; therefore, the activities of local individuals and community groups represent the news that papers are interested in printing. Without news of the community there would be no newspaper.

Such features as letters to the editor, the editorial pages (and the "guest" editorial), and the local news section of most newspapers exist principally to report the views and activities of the community. Although these features are widely read, many of us do not take advantage of these opportunities for access.

Many communities have started their own special interest newspaper to reach particular segments of the population with news, information and entertainment features. In many communities there are thriving community newspapers which concentrate on issues of interest to a particular neighborhood, ethnic group, political party, age or religious group. Community newspapers often carry freewheeling articles, editorials and exposes of corruption and misleading business practices that a large newspaper would be hesitant to print. Some of these small papers are operated entirely by donated labor, expertise and materials; others have been able to attract enough local advertising to pay for staff salaries and printing costs.[3]

It is important to know how to prepare your news to get it into the newspaper; this takes effort and some skill. Material sloppily prepared or in the wrong form may be discarded. Care should be taken to ensure that reporters using a press release cannot misinterpret the information.

The best method for learning how to prepare press releases for a particular community newspaper is to ask the editor what form is preferable, when it would be appropriate to submit items, and what kind of news is desired.

Some officials have good relations with the media and a "good press." Other officials are continually battling investigative reporters. Remember, most reporters are interested in getting news, if they are aided in their task, they will normally be appreciative. If, on the other hand, they are prevented from finding out what is going on in City Hall, they will probe. Recent disclosures of the Pentagon Papers and other classified reports have tended to encourage the search for public information by media personnel, and their rights to do so have been upheld by the courts.

Officials, or their associates in charge of public relations, may want to suggest human interest stories, schedule open meetings and encourage their coverage by reporters, and find other ways of keeping public actions in the news. Carefully written, informative reports are another useful source of information for the media.

3. Television

Television is the most persuasive and influential communications medium ever invented. Over 97% of American homes contain at least one TV set, and our sets are turned on an average of 6 hours and 14 minutes a day. More than 60% of Americans claim that television is their principal source of news and information.

Few communities take full advantage of the tremendous opportunities to communicate with their citizens offered by local television stations. Local TV station managers are becoming increasingly aware of their responsibilities to serve the various needs of their communities, and many local stations around the country actively seek community involvement in their news and public affairs programming, public service announcements and free speech messages.

Many local television stations have recently increased their news programs from 30 minutes to an hour and, as a result, have added depth to their news coverage and discussions of local problems and issues that can contribute greatly to open communications among the citizens of a community. Individual community members, public officials, and citizens groups should make every effort to discuss local issues and problems with TV station news and public affairs directors. Most of these executives will welcome their suggestions of possible program ideas, and will often call on them for background information on interviews if they decide to produce a program based on their ideas.

In addition, individual citizens or officials can have a strong impact on their local television stations by taking advantage of opportunities for editorial replies, by approaching station managers with requests for assistance in taping and airing public service announcements to make the community aware of a service or program, or by requesting air time to state personal opinions on local issues in free speech messages which many stations have recently incorporated into their programming schedules.[4]

Television requires a constant inflow of new information. Like the newspaper reporters, television personnel are constantly seeking appealing stories. Television, however, is more limited in both scope and depth. Fewer stories can be covered, and seldom in much detail. Again the astute official or the concerned citizen will find opportunities to get television coverage. In addition to a press release announcing the opening of a complaint center, the mayor will want to have a public opening with activities that will be interesting to television viewers.

Feedback from television requires some innovative techniques. Besides the standard method of simply counting viewers at any one time, the most creative is a carefully prepared television show followed in homes or community places by group discussions and then by responses to the proposals. This method has been followed by the New York Regional Planning Association for several years. In a program called "Choices for '76," the Regional Planning Association organized thousands of New Yorkers to meet in small groups, watch its prepared T.V. show, discuss issues, and then vote on the kinds of future for the New York Region that they preferred. A new kind of Town Meeting, using television, is practiced.

4. Telephone

Most of us are familiar with the telephone and believe we know how to use it. Still many officials see the telephone as mainly an instrument which brings complaints and, consequently, more work. How many public officials later call back the citizen who complained, informing him/her that the municipality has taken care of the problem, explaining what was done, and thanking the caller?

The telephone cannot replace face-to-face contacts, meetings, and public hearings, but it can be of great service to public officials. Telephone calls can inform citizens of meetings, encourage their presence, or get their ideas. Surveys by telephone can elicit attitudes of citizens, and people always seem willing to give their opinions. A state legislator conducted a telephone poll one evening, using high school callers, and not one of the 300 persons contacted refused to discuss issues!

The telephone can be used to set up conference calls so participants at different locations do not have to travel to a meeting but can still discuss and have two-way communication. Sometimes the official who cannot attend a meeting can place a call which can be amplified, state a position, and even discuss the problem with those present. For large gatherings, a speech can be delivered over the telephone and the speaker's image projected like closed-circuit TV; but note, this is not two-way communication.

Whenever the telephone is used, it is advisable to keep careful records of the conversation. The telephone may bring complaints which should be carefully recorded. It can also bring good news to citizens or others. Public officials should use the telephone to demonstrate their accountability to their constituents. Constituents can use the telephone to keep in constant communication with the officials who represent them.

Telephone companies have traditionally offered training services to customers on such topics as: how to show courtesy while talking on the telephone; selling techniques; and using the telephone for surveys. You can check with your local telephone company to ascertain what kinds of training is available to you and your community.

5. Cable Television

Recent advances in cable television now make it possible to provide dozens of community access channels in many communities which can be made available to individuals and community groups for freewheeling discussions and debates on community issues, broadcasts of local sports and cultural events, or information and education programs about health, nutrition, job opportunities and recreation events. But cable television has not lived up to its potential in most communities, and citizens face many obstacles that stand in the way of their access to cable channels. However, community cable groups have been started all over the country, and many opportunities exist for implementing cable channels devoted to public use and participation.

Cable television is a natural for community involvement and participation. If a cable TV outlet is operating in your area, you should make every effort to take advantage of cable's vast opportunities available to inform, educate and entertain members of your community.[5]

6. Radio

Although television is by far our most effective communications medium, radio is more versatile, can meet a broader range of special interest needs and is easily adaptable to a variety of program formats. In some cases, radio is the only source of news and information for certain segments of a community's population. Elderly people on fixed incomes cannot afford a television set, and rely on their radios for information about health services, nutrition and opportunities to meet and socialize with other people. The blind cannot make use of newspapers, magazines or television, and often rely on radio for all their news and entertainment.

Many radio stations regularly broadcast information about cultural events, medical screening or education programs, recreation events or community services on their "community calendar" programs. Too many local community groups do not take advantage of this excellent way to publicize their programs, and are disappointed when the people they most want to assist or entertain do not seek their help or attend their events.[6]

7. Letters

Letter writing is an art; some believe it is a "lost art." Like the use of the telephone, the writing of a warm, friendly informative letter can aid in communicating with citizens. If a flow of letters in both directions ensues, this brings about two-way communication.

One excellent way to use letters and demonstrate accountability is to answer personally the complaints of citizens. When a complaint has been satisfactorily handled, a personal letter should detail that fact. Or, if there are reasons why the situation is unresolved, these reasons can be explained to the complainant.

Personal letters can be sent to citizens in an area informing them of forthcoming programs (new bookmobile service, health clinic, or visit by an official). Letters can inform citizens about decisions to be made affecting the area. Or "blanket mailings" can be used to elicit responses in regard to some proposal. The letter may be an invitation to a particular event, such as the opening of a community planning office or service center.

Letter writing generally requires the writers to put themselves into the place of the receiver. What does the receiver want to hear? Certainly not all about the sender. Good letters often start with a statement directly referring to the recipient:

"You will certainly be pleased to know. . ."

"You have been selected as . . ."

"Your home is one of the most attractive in your area and therefore . . ."

Perhaps worst of all is the letter which has too many "I's". For example, "I am going to be in your neighborhood, and I would like to show you my product so that I may win a prize . . ."

Examine letters you receive. Which ones are well-written and why? Do they encourage you to do what the writer wants?

Why are other letters poorly received? Why do many letters go right into the wastebasket?

6. List in tabular form the advantages of local newsletters for communicating, in one column; and the limitations of newsletters in an other column. (Indicate whether you are responding from the point of view of a citizen or a public official.)

7. Describe at least one program in which a television program was used and then feedback obtained.

8. List, in tabular form, the advantages and uses of a telephone, in one column and the disadvantages in another column. (Indicate whether you are responding from the point of view of an official or a citizen.)

9. List several groups of citizens who might learn of community events via radio in preference to other forms of communication.

10. In writing letters to constituents, what important rule should be followed? Why?

211

C. CASE STUDIES: EXAMPLES OF INNOVATION IN COMMUNICATION

The following case studies are from a Challenge/Response paper, "Communications" published by the American Revolution Bicentennial Administration with the support of the U. S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. The examples suggest a variety of innovative ways in which various media forms have been used for two-way communication and to inform citizens.

COMMUNICATION TO FURTHER UNDERSTANDING

The transmission of information to our citizens is one of the most important functions of communications. In Tulsa, Oklahoma, residents are able to learn about important decisions affecting them by simply tuning Television Channel 24, the Government Access Channel. Channel 24 is a local cable television system which focuses on the activities of local and state government. For example, the station announces the dates of the regular meetings of the city commissioners well in advance to encourage public attendance. Later, Channel 24 videotapes the proceedings and broadcasts them several times for those unable to attend. Many citizens are, for the first time, tuned in to the activities of city government. Channel 24 represents an example of communications hardware fulfilling a valuable role in a community.

Since 1973, 40,000 families in eastern Tennessee and southwest Virginia have been part of an intriguing experiment to strengthen the relationship between themselves and what they see on television. Broadside Television, located in Johnson City, Tennessee, is a non-profit corporation which uses videotape to produce community-based programming tailored to the needs and interests of area residents. The main focus of Broadside's efforts is community- and problem-oriented communications. Videotape programming dealing with stripmining, land use, zoning hearings, and food co-ops, issues of local concern, are brought into homes via the many cable television stations in this mountainous region.

Videotaping figures prominently in another communications example: Project Accountability in Washington, D.C. Public housing tenants in the Anacostia neighborhood in the District of Columbia had no clear-cut access to city officials responsible for the delivery of municipal services to their area. As a result, trash was not collected, housing codes were not enforced, and faulty appliances were not replaced. In 1971 the Federal Court charged the city government with "flagrant discrimination" in the distribution of municipal services. To remedy this situation, the Federal City College in 1972 initiated Project Accountability under a grant from the U.S. Office of Education. Project Accountability is a videotape project to establish a means of communication between citizens with housing complaints and public housing officials.

The process involves the videotaping of interviews with tenants, including shots of the situation which gives rise to the complaints. The tapes are then shown to the housing managers, and their reactions are taped to be shown at a tenants meeting. The process captures an urgency and reality which officials, often bogged down in memoranda, regulations, and procedures, cannot ignore. The collected videotapes became the basis for a 90-minute Emmy award winning Public Broadcasting television special entitled "Housing in Anacostia, Fact, Failure, and Future." The videotaping process has served to catalyze community interest in housing and directly involved large numbers of Anacostia residents in a continuing dialogue to improve living conditions. A similar approach could be used in many of our communities with public housing problems.

The television camera is, of course, not the only communications channel which can help to further our understanding. In Louisville, Kentucky, the computer functions as a powerful communications tool in the Human Services Coordination Alliance. A number of local public and private human services agencies came together in 1972 to form a consortium known as the Human Services Coordination Alliance, Inc. (HSCA). Using a computer, the HSCA developed an intake, screening and referral network which is designed to improve a client's chances of receiving the right kind of help. The efforts of all the agencies in the consortium, once independent, are now centralized through better internal communication and coordination. During the first year of operation the system handled more than 10,000 referral transactions. The effectiveness and efficiency of the many human services offered has been greatly enhanced by the addition of a communications channel linking the agencies.

The Model Cities Communications Center, Inc. is a non-profit organization located in Minneapolis, Minnesota, which relies on a variety of communications tools to educate and inform the 39,000 residents of a 450-block renewal area in the inner city. The Federal Model Cities effort brought many social service agencies to Minneapolis, but the center is the crucial communication link between these agencies and the citizens. A biweekly newspaper, The Southside Newspaper, is mailed to every resident of the community. Surveys indicate that 90% of the population regularly read the newspaper, which so successfully kept the community together that in a recent election its editorials helped bring out three times the usual number of voters. Training in the use of videotape, graphic arts, public relations, and newswriting are provided to interested citizens via special classes run by the center. The Communications Center Staff recently developed a complete television system for Horn Towers, a residence for the elderly. Residents are featured in on-location video interviews. Last year a talent show featuring the Horn Towers Drama Club was broadcast. The Communications Center tries to be just what the name implies: a center for communicating vital information to inner city residents about their community.

The Group Against Smog and Pollution (GASP) is a group of concerned citizens who live and work in the Pittsburgh-Allegheny

County area. They have been particularly effective in using traditional--and some not so traditional--forms of public relations. GASP uses a variety of media to conduct extensive public information and public education campaigns to focus upon the problem and the solutions of their community's air pollution problem. GASP has produced (and circulates) under Federal grants, two films on citizen action. GASP has made the media an effective arm of their activity.

COMMUNICATIONS TO INCREASE KNOWLEDGE

Sometimes we all make the mistake of defining communications too narrowly. There are many forms of communication which center on the collection and dissemination of information about the larger world around us. For instance, the Northwest Environmental Communication Network (ECO-Net) was created to inform citizens from Oregon to Montana of environmental/energy problems and possible alternatives. Cosponsored by Portland State University and the Oregon Museum of Science and Industry, ECO-Net supported a series of well-received symposia at Expo '74 in Spokane. In addition, a monthly newsletter of energy news for the Northwest, called RAIN, is produced. ECO-Net has trained hundreds of citizens in the use of videotape to communicate and document their concerns. ECO-Net could serve as a model for the use of communications tools to address environmental problems in many communities.

Even satellites can be a communications tool as in the Remote Sensing Program in Fairbanks, Alaska. Using the Earth Resources

Technology Satellite (ERTS), Alaska has been able to gather information on its many inaccessible regions. Such information, when communicated to commercial lumber and mining interests, allows the land's potential to be fully realized in an environmentally sound manner.

COMMUNICATION FOR SPECIAL GROUPS

Certain groups in our communities may rely upon, and benefit more from, communications services than others. In Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, the Radio Talking Book Network provides a total broadcast service for the blind. Volunteers read local newspapers daily and record books, magazines and other literature for broadcast on the subcarrier beam of two local FM radio stations (a subcarrier beam is a small section of the total "wide" transmission beam used by a radio station). This "piggy back" system enables the Radio Talking Book Network to use the powerful signal and wide range of a commercial station at relatively little expense. Broadcasting 15 hours a day, 7 days a week, the Network serves the informative and recreation needs of blind people through the Oklahoma City area. Radio for the blind and physically handicapped is a relatively new concept. The first such station went on the air in Minnesota in 1969. Today there are more than 20 such stations around the country and the Oklahoma station shows that such a community effort, when staffed by volunteers, can be a relatively inexpensive way to help meet the needs of the handicapped in our society.

Language remains a communications barrier to many people in our communities. An over-reliance on a native language can isolate certain groups from the larger scene of our communities. In Santa Rosa, California, a large Mexican-American population was, until recently, without access to a communications medium. To address this problem, radio station KBBF was founded. KBBF broadcasts in both Spanish and English in an effort to, in the words of its owner/operator, "not only educate Chicanos, but to educate the English-speaking community to Chicano culture." Health and nutrition information, sports and news, employment information, English lessons, music and entertainment reach an estimated audience of 200,000 daily.

Better communications between blacks and whites is the goal of station WLBT-TV in Jackson, Mississippi. The history of WLBT began with a successful civil rights suit in 1964 to remove the license from its original operators. The civil rights group which brought the suit was not awarded the license; it was given to a Jackson-based citizens group, Communications Improvement, Inc. They have instituted sweeping changes which have reversed the previously discriminatory stance of the station. Station employment is heavily black and the net profit is donated to non-profit organizations active in broadcasting. Programming is designed to serve the needs of both blacks and whites and to encourage the lessening of racial tension and bigotry. WLBT-TV is a fine example of equality in programming and station employment, and has done a great deal to improve interracial communications in the Mississippi area.

COMMUNICATIONS: PERSON-TO-PERSON

As our population has grown, particularly in our urban areas, our society has changed rapidly. Communication on a person-to-person level has become increasingly difficult, despite the many new technologies designed to make communication easier. This phenomenon has given rise to a host of "hotline"-type services in our communities which attempt to bring people closer together and, when needed, offer help and guidance. Operation Bridge, in Las Vegas, Nevada, is typical of this service. Although it is primarily a drug-counseling center, Operation Bridge's volunteer staff maintains a 24-hour hotline crisis intervention service. Callers are given reassurance and, when necessary, help is dispatched in the form of a doctor, an ambulance, clergy, or counselors. Operation Bridge is a good example of people helping people, aided by one-to-one communication. Such services are operating in dozens of our communities right now.

ECHO, which stands for the Elderly Contact and Help Organization, is a volunteer hotline service located in Idaho Falls, Idaho. ECHO provides a sympathetic listener on one end of the telephone line to the many lonely elderly people in Idaho Falls. In addition, daily telephone contact is maintained to assure the prompt detection of any problems these people may have. ECHO has given the senior citizens of Idaho Falls a communications channel which has raised their spirits and, in some cases, saved their lives.

The Division of Cancer Control and Rehabilitation of the National Cancer Institute operates an expanding network of cancer hotlines located in 18 comprehensive regional cancer treatment centers across the country. By calling a toll-free number, a person can receive information and advice as well as referral services for treatment if that is indicated. These hotlines are called the Cancer Information Service and eventually the entire country will be part of the network so that all citizens can receive life-saving cancer information.

Often the availability of someone to talk to can aid in the solution of problems. Several organizations provide such assistance, where one-to-one communication can take place. FRIENDS in Fargo, North Dakota, matches people who have experienced difficult life situations--divorce, death, illness--with those who are experiencing similar situations. Make Today Count, an organization founded by a terminally ill cancer patient, brings together other such patients to share their mutual problems. The organization's philosophy is that life must not stop when cancer strikes and that hope is the strongest weapon.

11. What creative methods were suggested for use of television by this module? Summarize three or four case studies.

12. What reasons are implied for the training program in use of video tape and other communication skills for inner city Minneapolis residents by the Model Cities Communication Center, Inc.?

13. List some general principles in the use of communication skills by officials or citizens that are suggested by these case studies. One might be:

    a. *Use of both traditional and non-traditional means.*

    b.

    c.

    d.

    e.

    f.

    g.

D. ACCOUNTABILITY OF THE MEDIA

> *The hand that rules the press, the radio, the screen and the far-spread magazine rules the country; whether we like it or not, we must learn to accept it.*
>
> *Judge Learned Hand*

As the information and communications technologies have rapidly developed and expanded, we as citizens have become increasingly dependent upon the communications media for news, information, education, entertainment, and assistance with personal and community problems. For some segments of our population, the only communication is by means of telephone, radio, or television.

A vast array of new communications tools has made it possible for us to interact with each other instantly by telegram, television, telephone, tape recorders, instant copy machines (even ones which can copy a piece of information in one library and transmit it simultaneously to another library in a distant part of the country), radio, satellites, and computers. Still, traditional means of communication remain valid and useful and must not be ignored: newspapers, magazines, newsletters, correspondence and in-person communication. But some of these forms of communications have undergone significant transformations; news is now collected, printed, and delivered to all parts of the country (or world) almost instantly.

The responsibility of the media becomes crucial to our lives and to the conduct of our democratic government. Just as public participation in the making and implementing of laws has expanded qreatly, so too has our need for accurate and readily available information. If citizens or their representatives are to make informed decisions, they must be able to rely on the media for trustworthy and timely information.

This reliance on the media raises a host of questions about the use and abuse of the power to control the flow and content of information. Of course, the necessity to edit the vast amount of information for presentation carries with it the possibility of unintentional distortion. But we also have had experience with intentional distortion. The term "media manipulation" was coined to describe the skillful use of communications to further special interests.

222

The communications media have a responsibility to the public and they must be accountable. This is particularly difficult where a few large corporations have a virtual monopoly position, owning nationwide television and radio chains and newspapers. The communications media in some communities are entirely dominated by one owner, leaving open the possibility of one-sided coverage of news and public affairs.

Violence on television, and its impact on our children and our society is an issue which has been hotly debated for years. There are strong feelings on both sides of this issue in every community.

The performance of the broadcast media in producing responsive local programming has been questioned in many communities. Local broadcast media are charged to serve the public interest and if they do not, their right to continue broadcasting can be revoked.[7]

In recent years the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), which is charged with regulating radio, television, and cable television services, has become increasingly sensitive to local complaints. Communities can now exercise considerable control over some of the local media through the FCC

No similar vehicle exists for controlling or censoring newspapers, magazines, or some other forms of media output. Generally, it is believed that competition is the best vehicle for ensuring accountability. Still, as more and more cities are reduced to only one daily newspaper, or as the owners of the press also control the television and radio stations, these monopolistic tendencies frighten some observers. The responsibilities of the media must be continually monitored by local public officials and by concerned citizens to ensure an ample, unbiased supply of news and information.

The impact of the media on a city's policy-making process has been shown to occur in at least four major ways:

- The media operates a communication channel (or channels) which circulates information about city government and politics to all parts of the city's population;
- The media plays a major role in shaping city's "public action agenda", or the issues of concern;
- The media exerts short-run influence on attitudes toward the content of decisions and the outcome of elections;

- The media helps to create the long-term popular image held about certain key aspects of city governments and polities.[8]

For citizens to participate constructively in the public decision-making processes, they need two kinds of information. First, citizens need general information about the way in which governmental decisions are made and how urban policies and programs seek to cope with public needs and problems. Second, citizens need specific information about current policy issues, what officials are considering or doing about the issues, and, in times of election, what candidates stand for. Too often the first kind of information is not generally known to citizens nor does the media see its responsibility to provide such background information. The second kind of information is more frequently broadcast by the media, but it is subject to biases, too few details, or being ignored in favor of more startling news!

Without the accountability of the media as suggested here (and we speak primarily of the media's responsibility in reporting news), public accountability is limited in two ways. First, the activities of public officials are not represented clearly, comprehensively, or with a balance which allows citizens to assess the role of the officials properly. Second, the voters are not informed about important issues confronting them and, therefore, cannot participate as effectively or constructively in public decision-making processes as they potentially might. The media, in other words, should provide citizens the opportunity to learn, judge, and then act.

14. Why is the responsibility of the media more crucial today than one hundred years ago?

15. What examples can you cite from the readings or from your own experience of misuse of the media?

16. What are the four ways in which the media influences a city's policy-making process? Give one example of each.

E. CONCLUSION

This module has suggested that communication requires a two-way process. Information in the form of a message is relayed from the sender to the receiver; then there must be response or feedback to demonstrate that the message got through. Several means of communication were suggested. Creative use of these and other methods can help the communication process of public officials or of private citizens.

In this final word, we would like to stress that accountability on the part of public officials requires response to citizen messages. By whatever means they choose, the officials must indicate to the citizen that the message was received. Such response can be by:

- personal letters
- telephone calls
- personal contacts
- actions taken as result of the message (but normally this fact must still be communicated)
- form letters or newsletters.

Stress is placed on official response because failure to respond may result in at least two undesirable decisions on the citizen's part. Some citizens try once or a few times to communicate to public officials; receiving no response or an unsatisfactory answer, they withdraw from further participation vowing never again to "stick their necks out." The other response is to try a more aggressive or conflict approach. "If they won't answer our letters, we'll give them a message they can't ignore." So some citizens adopt disruptive techniques (protests, demonstrations, strikes, sit-ins, etc.) and demand response. The following quotation supports this position:

> Disrupters have discovered that the right of free expression is meaningless if that expression can be ignored by authorities with superior power. . . If expression is to be effective as well as free, people must have the power to participate in decision-making . . . Demands for participation must be met before demands for control develop.[9]

FOOTNOTES

1. The O. M. Collective, The Organizer's Manual (New York: Bantam Books, 1971), pp. 43-44.

2. In this section, liberal use has been made of the following government publication: The American Revolution Bicentennial Administration, Communications, A Challenge/Response Paper (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, September 1976).

3. Ibid., p. 8.

4. Ibid., p. 4-5.

5. Ibid., p. 6.

6. Ibid., p. 6-7.

7. Ibid., p. 2.

8. Demetrios Caraley, City Government and Urban Problems (Englewood Cliffs, NJ.: Prentice-Hall, 1977), pp. 317.

9. Robert B. Thigpen and Lyle A. Downing, "Power, Participation and the Politics of Disruption," Christian Century, July 23, 1969 (as quoted in Current Magazine, October, 1969, pp. 19-22).

ASSIGNMENT

The following project should be completed on separate paper. Two copies of your response should be mailed to the instructor. One copy will be returned to you with the instructor's comments and the other will be retained as part of your course record.

a. *Write, from the perspective of a local public official, a letter to all citizens in your community who are affected by a particular project or decision. Be sure to indicate who is writing, what official role and responsibility the official has, and what he or she might do to help citizens. In your letter explain why the decision was made or the project undertaken, what the effects may be, and what benefits to the citizens (or to the community at large) may eventuate.*

b. *Then, write a letter to the official typical of one which might be the response of an irate citizen* ***or*** *of an aroused citizens' group. The letter should* ***give*** *some explanation as to why the proposed project or decision negatively affects the citizens or their community. (A negative response is desired here because the official must then defend the decision.)*

c. *Finally, write a letter to answer the citizen's letter (or the letter of a citizens' group). Suggest the accountability of the official, his or her concern, the actions he or she promises to take. Answer the citizen arguments squarely; do not necessarily retreat from the original decision. Do not promise more than can be delivered. Still, the official wants to keep the goodwill of citizens and should try to modify the negative aspects of the project or decision.*

NOTE: This project can be based on a real experience, or you can be very creative and imaginative.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

American Revolution Bicentennial Administration, Communications. A Challenge/Response Paper. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, September 1976.

Caraley, Demetrios, City Governments and Urban Problems. Englewood Cliffs, NJ.: Prentice-Hall, 1977. (especially, Chapter 14; "City Communications Media Elites.")

Carpenter-Huffman, Polly, et.al. Cable Television: Developing Community Services. New York: Crane, Russak, and Co., 1974.

Hynds, Ernest C. American Newspapers in the 1970's. New York: Hastings House, 1975.

Kinsley, Michael, Outer Space and Inner Sanctums. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1976.

McLuhan, Marshall, The Medium is the Message. New York: Random House, 1967.

Mondale, Walter F., The Accountability of Power. New York: David McKay Company, 1975. (See, especially Chapter 8, "The Fourth Estate: The Presidency and the Media.")

Schwartz, Barry N., ed. Human Connection and the New Media. Englewood Cliffs, NJ.: Prentice-Hall, 1973.

Singer, Benjamin D. Feedback and Society. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books 1973.

Source Collective. Source Catalog--Communications. Chicago: Swallow Press, 1971.

PA 816
PUBLIC ACCOUNTABILITY

MODULE 6:
MEETING CITIZENS FACE-TO-FACE

PREPARED
BY:
DR. CLIFFORD HAM

UNIVERSITY EXTERNAL STUDIES PROGRAM

Developed by the University External Studies Program and the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs, University of Pittsburgh. Under Contract to The Urban Management Curriculum Development Project, The National Training and Development Service, 5028 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20016. Funded by The Office of the Assistant Secretary for Policy Development and Research, U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development.

MODULE 6: MEETING CITIZENS FACE-TO-FACE

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Title . . . . . Page

Key Terms and Concepts XII.6.1

Introduction XII.6.1

Learning Objectives XII.6.2

Overview XII.6.3

Module Readings

A. The Need For Face-To-Face Contacts by Officials XII.6.5

B. Face-To-Face Contacts by Citizens XII.6.10

C. The Effects of Face-To-Face Contacts XII.6.17

D. Use of Professional Organizers XII.6.20

Footnotes XII.6.24

Module Assignment XII.6.25

MODULE 6: MEETING CITIZENS FACE-TO-FACE

KEY TERMS AND CONCEPTS

- Face-to-Face Contacts
- Listening
- Organizer
- Canvassing

INTRODUCTION

This module discusses the need for face-to-face contacts in an impersonal world of large organizations. Face-to-face contacts are defined as personal relations between two, three or four individuals and without the use of a communications device (radio, television, newsletter) and without a formal structure (sermon, speech, drama).

Public officials can demonstrate their accountability by arranging face-to-face contacts with thier constituencies. Probably no other process is so effective as a direct meeting by officials of people in their homes, at their workplaces, on the streets, in churches, labor halls, or other sites. Face-to-face contacts are also important for citizens' groups, so several means of keeping in personal touch with neighbors are reviewed.

Several ideas on "canvassing" give specific advice on meeting people in a variety of ways. While written from a particular political position, the advice should be generally useful. The term "canvassing," which is used in the excerpt included in this module, is seen as one fruitful form of face-to-face contacts; canvassing can be used by officials or by citizens. Most successful politicians depend heavily on face-to-face contacts. One major campaigner was said to have been able to call 50,000 persons by name.

When time or other constraints make it difficult or impossible for an official or a citizens' group to make personal contacts, they may want to utilize a professionally-trained community organizer. The advantages and disadvantages of this approach are discussed.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After studying this module, you should be able to:

1. Explain the importance of empathetic listening.
2. Identify the implications of face-to-face contact for communication of differences among groups (e.g., different ethnic, occupation, sexual groups).
3. State the effects of personal communications.
4. Summarize the various methods of relating to citizens on a personal, face-to-face basis including their advantages and disadvantages.
5. Explain the advantages and limitations to citizens' groups and public officials in using community organizers.
6. Explain the relationship between face-to-face contacts by public officials and accountability based on an interview with a public official.

OVERVIEW

Objectives	Tasks	Resources	Evaluation
1. Explain the importance of empathetic listening.	Study Questions 1, 5	Module Reading: A	Self
2. Identify the implications of face-to-face contacts for communication of differences among groups (e.g., different ethnic, economic, occupational, sexual groups).	Study Questions 1, 2, 3, 4, 5	Module Reading: A	Self
3. State the effects of personal communications.	Study Questions 6, 7, 11, 12	Module Reading: B	Self
4. Summarize the various methods of relating to citizens on a personal, face-to-face basis including their advantages and disadvantages.	Study Questions 4, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13	Module Readings: A, B, C, D	Self
5. Explain the advantages and limitations to citizens' groups and public officials in using community organizers.	Study Questions 14, 15 Assignment	Module Reading: D	Self

Objectives	Tasks	Resources	Evaluation
6. Explain the relationship between face-to-face contacts by public officials and accountability, based on an interview with a public official.	Module Assignment	Module Readings and your own Experience	Instructor Feedback

A. THE NEED FOR FACE-TO-FACE CONTACTS

The most effective politicians--that is, the ones who get elected and re-elected--are generally the candidates who have made the most personal contacts. They have met people face-to-face: in their homes, at their work places, on the streets, or in public gatherings where they still can speak personally.

By face-to-face is meant individual personal contact between an official and one or more constituents--where communication is direct and unfiltered, where questions can be asked by either party, and where the participants can be said to "know" each other, at least knowing each other's name and interests. We exclude meetings with more than four persons, or contacts by television, radio, newsletters, and so on. Also, face-to-face implies more of a personal relationship than contact via a speech, sermon, or other formal presentation. Face-to-face contacts may occur in many places--those suggested above, or in supermarkets, clubs, homes, or other settings. The largest number of persons present would probably be four, although at a "coffee-klatch" or similar home gathering there might meet five or six persons. Face-to-face contacts are a valuable exercise of two-way communication between the official and constituents.

The wise politicians, once elected, maintain face-to-face contacts so they can have a "feel" for the constituency. They know that letters, speeches, campaign literature and other means do not provide for the two-way communication that is vital. Public officeholders, elected or employed, can use the same process to know more about the citizens they serve. To be accountable means to be available, listening, learning, and responsive.

Of course, officials are too often overburdened with responsibilities, busy from dawn to dusk. It seems hard to find time to meet the citizens. If talking to individual members of the public is viewed as crucial to one's job, however, time will be found to leave the office and talk to people.

An example comes to mind of a young, newly-hired employee in Pittsburgh who was charged with setting up neighborhood festivals. She was told to learn of community needs by means of a questionnaire. She realized that a questionnaire was too impersonal and that she should talk to citizens individually and in small groups. There was virtually no time, but she "made time." Ultimately, the personal contacts saved time; she learned the personalities and concerns of almost fifty neighborhoods. And the city had many days and evenings of Bicentennial festivals, successful enough to be planned for a subsequent year.

Why this concern for meeting directly with people? The primary purpose in meeting folks face-to-face is to get to know them and to be able to understand their problems, interests, ideas, concerns, goals. The first rule for a public speaker is "Know Your Audience." A similar first rule for officials should be: "Know Your People."

Another reason is the opposite side of that maxim: the citizens get to know the public officials. No longer is service being rendered by a faceless bureaucrat. The citizens can say: "Mr. Jones is in charge of our water supply"; or,"Miss Smith handles my real estate matters."

A third justification is the possibility of resolving difficulties and misunderstandings early and informally. Sometimes serious problems are discovered at an early stage and can be eliminated by discussion or negotiation without any formal complaint or litigation.

Another reason for talking personally is to get ideas and uncover attitudes on issues. People are always pleased to be asked for their opinions. In several recent telephone polls conducted under the supervision of the author, virtually no one refused to answer questions on issues. Talking face-to-face and being asked for advice and opinions can be very flattering.

An example of the value of face-to-face contacts may be drawn from a recent city election. The winner was a long-time political figure who for years attended parties, wakes, bingo games, little league contests, and all manner of such events. People knew him by his first name, and he knew many of them personally. While his performance as a municipal official could warrant election to a higher position, his many contacts with voters certainly helped him win. The other two major candidates were aloof and had a much shorter history of face-to-face relationships. It was generally concluded that major candidate's extensive and personal familiarity with the community was responsible for his decisive victory.

Face-to-face contacts are another means of offering accountability to citizens. The personality, the record, the commitments, the concerns of the public official are directly exposed to the scrutiny of citizens. Questioning and answering can take place. The official indicates responsiveness and responsibility to constituents when meeting with them face-to-face.

A way of distinguishing face-to-face contacts from other forms of communication is to describe this form as providing "instant feedback." The official receives immediate indications of support, distrust, differences of opinion, or interest. No other form of relationship provides immediate response, and some forms (such as questionnaires) may take weeks or months before the attitudes of constituents may be known. (And there is always a question concerning those persons who did not complete the questionnaire; that is, were they different in some way from those who did respond?)

Preparation: Officials should know something about the people they plan to meet. Is this an ethnic community? Are folks mostly members of one religious group? What is the economic level and the educational level? What are some of the issues which might be raised?

Officials should have clearly in mind what they want to know, why they are visiting, what they are willing to promise, and what they are supposed to do. They must be wary of promising more than they can deliver, and they should be relatively confident of their mission.

Approach: Listening to people with empathy is considered one of the best ways of getting acquainted. Be prepared to listen carefully. What is the person telling you? Is the message getting across? If not, why not? Are differences in economic or educational achievements hindering communication? Are racial or ethnic differences confusing the meaning?

The objective is not to argue or even to put forward the "official position." Most often, especially in first contacts, the objective should be simply to listen. If you do not agree, state: "I see your position" or "Yes, you do have a point there." An unwillingness to listen may turn off the speakers; or they may try to state what they think the official wants to hear. "Oh yes, we like this neighborhood. No, there are no difficulties with city services."

Case Example

> The President of the United States, Jimmy Carter, recognizes the need for face-to-face contacts despite the number of people involved. In his governorship of Georgia, Carter visited various parts of his state to talk to voters, had a monthly "visitor's day" when any one who wanted to see or talk to him could meet him in his office, and had

frequent radio "talk-back" shows. Recognizing that it would be difficult in a country as large as the United States, Carter stated during his campaign: "Anything I can devise that would maintain a feeling of open access to me by the American people--I would try it."

Some of the proposed means of meeting citizens on a face-to-face basis, proposed by a People Committee appointed by Carter, are the following:

- Cross-country trips, including town meeting discussions with citizens or local officials. Two of these have taken place, one in Clinton, Massachusetts, and the other in West Virginia. Staying in private homes is a part of this people plan.
- Radio call-in shows. Again, President Carter has used radio and television for direct contacts with people. Many citizens were amazed when Carter spent two hours responding to the telephone and answering questions spontaneously.
- A White House luncheon program, especially to invite Americans with innovative ideas to lunch with the President. The objective of these small luncheons would be to expose President Carter to creative ideas not likely to reach him through his staff, the cabinet, or those who normally have access to the President.
- Invitations to randomly selected citizens to meet with Carter and his family, perhaps for dinner. Real discussions with adequate time would be encouraged.
- White house mini-conference with specialists invited for one day. Each conference would cover one limited topic; participants would normally be less-known experts from all over the country.
- Telephone calls to private citizens. After his television/radio call-in, Carter personally called back some citizens to report on progress on their problems. In other cases he would call a group of people, at random; or call those who have registered significant achievements or who have suffered unusual hardships.
- Federal Information Centers--an existing program with 37 government-run information centers scattered around the country, with toll-free lines to other cities. Such information centers should allow person-to-person contacts in the office, as well as personal contact via the telephone.[1]

If the President of the United States can render an accounting to the citizens of this country by using face-to-face contacts, can local majors, council representatives, or municipal officials do less?

STUDY QUESTIONS

1. Define the terms "face-to-face contacts" and "listening."

2. What benefits can an official gain from face-to-face contacts with citizens?

3. Compare and contrast the terms: "face-to-face contacts" and "two-way communication."

4. Compare the advantages of face-to-face contacts with a survey using questionnaires.

5. Why is "listening" so important and what is "empathetic listening"?

B. FACE-TO-FACE CONTACTS BY CITIZENS

Citizens, too, use face-to-face contacts individually and in groups. Public opinions are formed by men and women meeting each other, talking over their concerns, and sometimes agreeing on a cause of action. Citizens' groups, too, must continually reach out to their publics, to the citizens whom they represent. The most effective means of accomplishing this is through personal contacts. There are many ways in which community groups can contact their constituents, and these ways are, in general, similar to those a public official would use:

- contacts in supermarkets, restaurants, bingo games, and other places where people may be found;
- parties, teas, coffee-klatches;
- public assemblies (but with the emphasis clearly on primary or face-to-face relations);
- mobile vans providing information, allowing complaints but, most of all, having a person available for personal contacts;
- house-to-house surveys, asking for opinions and information;
- contacts in the streets.

Despite the fact that a citizen group is neighborhood-based and people live nearby, the group must take care to keep in touch. Residents rarely walk into a storefront office until they feel comfortable or are so agitated that they enter to protest some issue. The good community leader will visit people in houses, greet them on the streets, and contact them at gatherings.

Walking around the neighborhood is an extremely effective mode of keeping in touch with people and problems. The community leader or organizer who walks, rather than uses a car, not only saves gasoline but makes face-to-face contacts which would otherwise be less likely. Sometimes a fifteen minute stroll from home to office actually takes an hour. One meets a friend, learns of illness in a neighbors home, plans a committee meeting with a fellow member, notices a change of zoning sign, chats with businessman, and greets children playing on the sidewalk. After such a walk, one may urge a cleanup campaign, importune the city for more trees, protest the proposed zoning change, patronize a new store owner, or arrange neighborhood help for the family with a serious illness. All of these contacts or problems would have been unlikely if one drove to the office. Needless to say, the public official who walks could accomplish many of the same purposes.

The author is reminded of a well-meaning minister who had a church in a crowded city neighborhood. He put a sign on his church doors: "Welcome. Counseling hours: 2-5 p.m." After several years, the clergyman departed, lamenting that no one had ever visited him for help (except a few asking for money). He observed: "It is strange; whenever I walked down the street to get my car, people stopped and talked. I did some counseling on the street. Many people knew me from the brief walks I took, but no one ever came into my office." This seems a lesson to all of us interested in communities: get out and walk, talk, listen.

Another way of making contact is through organized visits to homes. Ministers, doctors, and school teachers, used to go directly to the homes to become acquainted with parishioners, patients, or pupils families. Today it is a rare occasion to have a visit from such professionals. Salespersons, sociologists, and some politicians do go house-to-house; the process is called canvassing, and might be useful for citizens groups or officials.

Canvassing is usually done by pairs of people, perhaps a man and a woman, one of whom should be experienced. This pair proceeds from house to house (or apartment to apartment), knocking on doors just as is done by many politicians. The purpose of canvassing is to provide an opportunity for the residents to express their own concerns and opinions.

Listening to people remains the key. Care and patience must be exercised to allow people to state what is on their minds in their own words. If, however, the individuals with whom you are speaking are just not interested or possibly hostile, don't try to force the discussion; you would make better use of your time by moving on to another resident.

There are many reasons for canvassing. Salespersons, religious proselytizers, pollsters, census takers, politicians, and bill collectors all use the technique of canvassing to establish face-to-face contacts with citizens, albeit for differing reasons. Citizens who canvass their communities also have their reasons, which may partially include those of the groups just listed. Among the reasons for canvassing which are frequently cited are:

- to learn facts from the community;
- to become aware of attitudes;
- to create personal relationships;
- to explain proposed projects;

243

- to encourage citizens to adopt a position on an issue similar to the official stance;
- to invite citizens to public meetings.

Canvassing, which involves face-to-face contacts, also requires some special preparations which should include:

- being well-informed about the topic(s) that will be discussed;
- conducting pre-canvassing planning and role-playing sessions;
- organizing peoples' names and addresses;
- collecting information on the target neighborhoods, e.g., ethnic and religious backgrounds;
- obtaining guidance and criticisms from a friendly resident of the neighborhood;
- planning for an appropriate appearance (grooming and dress).[2]

The authors of The Organizer's Manual define canvassing as "the organization of systematic one-to-one discussions with people in and around their homes or jobs."[3] Canvassing, then, can be considered an important method of establishing face-to-face contacts.

Case Example

A well-organized community group uses two methods of ascertaining community concerns and interests. The first method is relatively simple. When citizens are interested or concerned about an issue they respond to meetings, public hearings, and demonstrations. Recently the organization has held public meetings on crime in the neighborhoods; on absentee landlords; and on public transportation proposals. All meetings have been well-attended by residents. The organization knows that citizens are concerned about those issues.

The other method of ascertaining citizen concern has recently been tested. Officers of the group agreed to visit a representative sample of homes in the area, to talk face-to-face with citizens, and to ferret out their ideas, interests, and concerns. The objective here was to listen to citizens, to help them air their gripes, to express satisfaction or discontent with city services and other programs, and to elicit ideas on how the citizen group can help the citizens. After the many face-to-face visits, the results will be analyzed by the officers, and presumably checked by attendance at public meetings.

Is there a general interest in this problem? How much are citizens willing to commit themselves to helping solve the problem? Will residents attend hearings?. . .take part in meetings with officials?. . . do research on the issue?. . .or demonstrate their concern publicly? Beginning with face-to-face contacts and the listening process, the group discovers problems, concerns, fears or likes, then tests these in public meetings, and pursues those that are espoused by a sizable number of citizens.

Here is a report from one resident who was interviewed:

"Jane F., an officer of our neighborhood group, telephoned and set up an appointment. My wife and I could both be home at 5 PM so we agreed to meet then.

"Jane was at the door promptly and explained that she was visiting several homes primarily to listen to our feelings about the neighborhood. We were pleased to talk to her and tell her what we felt needed correcting.

"We talked about the problem of crime in the area. I suggested we avoid talking too much about burglaries and robberies because some citizens might get the impression the crime rate was really high and the neighborhood dangerous. My wife and I think the neighborhood is relatively quite safe, and police records support this view.

"Then we talked about the proposed busway for our area and its impact on the residential streets. All of us agreed this was a major threat to our quiet, single-family home neighborhood and that our organization must try to prevent the disruption and disturbances caused by many buses using our residential streets. It appears, also, that bus service for riders from our area will be diminished even if more buses come through the area.

"We had a good conversation for more than one hour. Ms F. did not take notes and I wondered if she could remember all the ideas we gave her. Furthermore, there were times when she did more talking and seemed to be telling us her ideas rather than soliciting our problems. Altogether it was a worthwhile visit because we did have the chance to get some ideas expressed and to find our ideas were similar to others. I hope the organization continues to talk directly with many of its members and constituents. It's a good way of finding out what we think."

6. Explain why face-to-face contacts are as necessary for citizens' groups as for officials.

7. Describe the advantages of walking around a neighborhood rather than using a car.

8. Is "canvassing" a valid means of meeting people face-to-face? Why or why not?

9. Describe some of the preparation necessary before canvassing.

10. What reasons can be given for a public official to "canvass"?

11. Discuss the two ways used by one citizen group in the case study to ascertain the interests and concerns of its constituents. Is either more effective than the other or should both be used?

12. Criticize the case study of Jane F. and the couple: i.e., what mistakes do you think Ms F. made? What did she accomplish? Altogether, was she successful in ascertaining issues and concerns? Why do you think so? How would you improve the process?

C. THE EFFECTS OF FACE-TO-FACE CONTACTS

Attitudes toward government, as well as to other large institutions, seem to be unfavorable today. Much of this negative attitude stems from the impersonality of the organizations which affect us. We can hardly have good personal relationships with corporations, metropolitan-wide governments, huge universities, or even large volunteer movements. Our warmest memories attach to personal relationships with one or a few individuals. If one friendly teller epitomizes a bank, or a cooperative teacher is identified with the university, or a helpful public official represents city government, our views toward that institution are more favorable. This is part of the reason for encouraging face-to-face contacts on a planned, regular basis.

Here is one example of how personal contacts changed attitudes. A local organization, quite active and successful, is part of a national organization. While the local organization is in many ways dependent upon the national group for its existence, local volunteer leaders felt considerable resentment of "national." They felt that the national office was demanding too much, was unaware of local needs, and was dictating unwise policies. Then, the national board of directors came to town for a quarterly meeting. The local officers and members observed the meeting and shared an evening meal and later a picnic with the board of directors. There was plenty of time for face-to-face contacts and for discussion. By the end of the weekend attitudes had changed. The national organization was seen as a group of honest, concerned individuals. Much more trust developed among the two groups. Reasons for decisions were made clearer. Face-to-face relationships had changed attitudes from suspicion to trust and understanding, if not friendship.

Some organizations and agencies have planned for citizens without their participation and especially without the face-to-face contacts advocated in this module. The results can be devastating. This has been true especially in the areas of environment and highway building. As Alan Altshuler reported to a national conference:

> Citizen Participation
>
> If our system is less and less characterized by unrestrained capitalism, it is increasingly characterized by widespread private participation in public sector planning and decision making. This may, indeed, be a case of a public-private equilibrium of power maintaining itself. The government as a whole does more, but individual officials are compelled to seek for broader and more informed consent than 10 or 15 years ago.
>
> They are compelled to do so, moreover, in an atmosphere of severe citizen distrust for government, and with only minimal assistance from ongoing institutions able to cultivate and deliver political support.
>
> From the 1930's through the 1950's, political scientists reported generally that private interest group participation in policy making was the norm of the American system, but that the participants were mainly paid officials of well-organized institutions.
>
> An important recent phenomenon, however, has been the growth in political significance of popular movements that do not have major institutional bases. The two such movements that have had the greatest impact on urban development policy in recent years are the anti-highway movement and the environmental movement. Both depend predominantly for their success on a small core of voluntary and meagerly paid activists, supported by a far wider base of inactive but highly interested supporters.

These movements are most effective when opposing the expansion plans of public agencies and private business enterprises. This is so even though many of their leaders and members are extremely anxious to be constructive. The fact is that the major source of mobilizing energy for such movements, almost inevitably, is indignation.

Further, the stopping of a highway or power plant is a clear cut objective that a broad constituency of ordinary citizens can feel part of. By contrast, persuading the American people to buy fewer cars, to ride transit or to consume less electricity is more frustrating and esoteric work. The actual development of improved mass transit and nonpolluting sources of power, moreover, are long term tasks for major institutions with great resources at their disposal.

The astonishing accomplishment of these popular movements, however, is that they have enjoyed remarkable success in setting the recent agenda of American politics, in bringing about important alterations in the processes of American planning and decision making, and in shaping the climate of public opinion within which urban planning now occurs.

In at least two very important ways, the growth of participation has been an important conservative influence.

Established institutions participate in politics as much to serve their expansion needs as to avert threats. In the fields of land use and transportation, for example, business and labor interests typically press for increased construction activity and seek to head off regulatory actions that might hinder their freewheeling activities.

The popular movements, on the other hand, tend to oppose any construction that is likely to have a significant disruptive impact, and to support ever more severe regulation of private investment activity. The results of their efforts have been to slow down the rate of both public and private investment and to render highly disruptive or environmentally harmful projects virtually impossible to implement.

A corollary is that their successes challenge development bureaucracies to figure out means of achieving their objectives without disrupting neighborhoods or harming the environment. We are forced to ask such questions as the following: How can urban mobility needs be met without the construction of new expressways through developed areas and public open space reserves? How can our cities be kept vital and renewed without large scale slum clearance? How can our energy needs be met without fouling the air, stripping the countryside, exposing the populace to radioactivity and the risk of nuclear disaster, and making the nation increasingly subservient to whims of Arab oil sheiks?

> The challenges posed by such questions are healthy indeed. The more troubling issue is whether anyone can answer them or, rather, whether the standards of success in coping with these challenges are being set at reasonable levels.
>
> Regardless of one's normative evaluation, it is clear that the participatory movement has been a major conservative influence in its resistance to disruptive development activity; and yet it has been a major spur to innovation in its establishment of new constraints upon successful development planning.[4]

Reprinted with permission from the American Institute of Planners, Newsletter, December, 1974.

There seems to be no effective substitute for face-to-face relations with citizens. As organized groups of citizens increasingly help shape public programs, concerned public officials will make plans and take steps to meet with those citizens, to understand their positions, to establish relationships of trust, and to work toward mutually-acceptable plans.

13. In your opinion could some of the "negative" forces, such as anti-highway movements and environmental protests, have been resolved with more face-to-face contacts?

D. USE OF PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZERS

Public officials or citizen groups may choose to use professionally-trained community organizers to make face-to-face contacts for them. Public officials may not have the time to visit all their constituents yet may want to keep in close contact. The author's congressman, for example, has a mobile van which is located in various parts of the district on scheduled visits. Citizens can go to the van when it is in their community and talk to well-informed and friendly staff, complain, get information, or otherwise make contact. Other officials may feel they lack the outgoing, warm personality which would allow them to enjoy meeting people and chatting in one-to-one relationship. Here is another opportunity to enlist the services of a trained community organizer. While first hand experiences with citizens are definitely preferable, some contacts (even vicariously) are better than none at all.

Citizens' groups generally depend mainly on volunteer effort. Still, especially in poorer neighborhoods, most adults work and the time for making face-to-face contacts (outside clearly social relationships) is limited. In this situation the use of a community organizer may be appropriate. Furthermore, a community organizer can bring knowledge and skills which a neighborhood needs.

Community organizers are trained mainly in schools of social work. Titles differ but one can learn organizing skills in courses or programs of community development, citizen participation, community organization, or group work. Many books and articles have been written on the subject. While some persons seem to have natural skills in meeting people and enlisting their aid, the professional training has seemed desirable if not mandatory for those persons working in participation efforts.

The trained community organizer knows, among other skills:

- how to meet people in their homes, or elsewhere;
- how to listen to people;
- how to enlist support for a cause;
- how to use various ways of organizing groups;
- how to select appropriate tactics and strategies for accomplishing group purposes;
- how to implement various approaches to developing coalitions among concerned groups;

- how to plan and run meetings;
- how to help citizens perform these tasks;
- how to keep good records of activities and to make frequent reports to sponsors and clients.

The community organizer must be able to communicate to the public official what has been learned so that, while the official has not actually visited citizens, the essence of their concerns, attitudes, and feelings can be understood. Similarly, the good organizer will transmit to citizens the idea that the official is aware of the constituents, interested in hearing their problems, and willing to do something about those problems which can be alleviated.

There are risks in the use of professional organizers. The worst would be the possibility of manipulation by the organizer. Whose goals are to be pursued: the citizens' goals? . . . or the organizer's? Another risk is letting the paid staff do jobs that volunteers should do. Such exchange of functions can severely reduce the amount of citizen interest and effort in an organization. And whoever makes face-to-face contacts should report back completely and honestly to the citizens or to the responsible official.

Organizers can help officials, but they may also overshadow the official, make unauthorized commitments, or create additional work. Of course, the organizer may give the official a better reputation than deserved or may destroy carefully murtured relationships. Community organizers, therefore, may have either constructive or destructive effects, depending, in part, on their own capabilities and motivations or on the motivatations and intentions of the persons--officials or citizens' groups--who hired them.

A motto which a superb community organizer used to teach is appropriate here: "The community worker should be on tap but not on top!"

14. When should professional organizers be used? And how?

15. What are the advantages to an official of using a trained community organizer? What are the risks?

FOOTNOTES

1. Neal R. Peirce, "White House Welcome: The 'People Programs'," Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, 5 March, 1977.

2. The O.M. Collective, The Organizer's Manual (New York: Bantam Books, 1971), p. 59.

3. Ibid., p. 39.

4. Alan Altshuler, "Citizen Participation," Newsletter, American Institute of Planners, December, 1974, p. 19.

ASSIGNMENT

The following questions should be answered as completely as possible on separate paper. Two copies of your responses should be mailed to the instructor. One copy will be returned to you with the instructor's comments and the other will be retained as part of your course record.

Arrange for an appointment with a public official in your own community or in another community in which you have contacts so that you can have a scheduled face-to-face contact with a public official. Before meeting the official, select a particular project you would like to discuss. Be sure the project, decision, or program is one in which the official has some responsibility. During your conversation, note the official's attitude toward you, your ideas on the project, and citizens in general.

For this assignment, write a description of the discussion during your face-to-face contact. Your description should include the following:

- *the willingness of the official to meet with you.*
- *the relative comfort (or nervousness) of the official.*
- *the information the official shared with you.*
- *any follow-up contacts that were planned or suggested.*

On the basis of this conversation, explain why you would or would not judge the official to be accountable.

PA 816
PUBLIC ACCOUNTABILITY

MODULE 7
MEETING CITIZENS IN GROUPS

PREPARED

BY:

DR. CLIFFORD HAM

UNIVERSITY EXTERNAL STUDIES PROGRAM

Developed by the University External Studies Program and the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs, University of Pittsburgh. Under Contract to The Urban Management Curriculum Development Project, The National Training and Development Service, 5028 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20016. Funded by The Office of the Assistant Secretary for Policy Development and Research, U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development.

MODULE 7: MEETING CITIZENS IN GROUPS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Title . . . Page

Key Terms and Concepts XII.7.1

Introduction XII.7.1

Learning Objectives XII.7.2

Overview XII.7.3

Module Readings

A. Citizen Groups in America XII.7.4

B. Accountable Officials Meet with Citizen Groups XII.7.13

C. Citizens Meet to Plan and Act XII.7.17

D. Case Study: Planning the Bikeway XII.7.21

Footnotes XII.7.24

Assignment XII.7.25

Selected Bibliography XII.7.26

MODULE 7: MEETING CITIZENS IN GROUPS

KEY TERMS AND CONCEPTS

- CAC
- Watchdog Committee
- Charette
- People's Organization

INTRODUCTION

The last module emphasized the necessity for meeting citizens on a face-to face basis, either as individuals or in small groups of two or three. Often officials face larger, more organized groups of citizens; and, if previous contacts have been limited or negative, they confront a hostile group.

This module discusses examples of groups which an official is likely to contact. They range from advisory groups, perhaps even formed by the official, to militant peoples' organizations whose purpose is to wrest power from officials. Each example of a group in this module can also be analyzed as we did earlier: by origin of group, objectives, strategy and tactics, and so on.

In Part B, of this module, suggestions are given to assist public officials in meeting effectively with groups of citizens. Because this module focuses mostly on meeting informally with groups, the next module will analyze more formal, required public hearings, large public meetings, and public forums.

In Part C suggestions are given to help citizens in planning and carrying out their own meetings prior to or after meeting with officials. Part D provides another case study of citizens helping to influence public policy.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

When you have completed the readings and assignments for this module, you should be able to:

1. Identify and describe several types of citizens' groups, including the relative amounts of citizen involvement in each group.
2. Explain the guidelines which officials should follow when meeting with citizens and the means for them.
3. Advise officials on ways to attain maximum communication and cooperation when meeting with groups of citizens.
4. Suggest some guidelines for citizens to follow when organizing groups of citizens to meet with officials.
5. Prepare written communications to fellow citizens advising them of and preparing them to participate in a forthcoming meeting with a local official.

OVERVIEW

Objectives	Tasks	Resources	Evaluation
1. Identify and describe several types of citizens' groups including the relative amounts of citizen involvement in each group.	Study Questions 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6	Module Reading: A	Self
2. Explain the guidelines which officials should follow when meeting with citizens and the reasons for them.	Study Questions 7, 8, 9	Module Reading: B	Self
3. Advise officials on ways to attain maximum communication and cooperation when meeting groups of citizens.	Study Questions 7, 8	Module Reading: B	Self
4. Suggest some guidelines for citizens to follow when organizing groups of citizens to meet with officials.	Study Questions 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17	Module Readings: C, D	Self
5. Prepare written communications to fellow citizens advising of and preparing them to participate in a forthcoming meeting with a local official.	Module Assignment	Module Readings and your own Experience. [Review Module 5]	Instructor Feedback

A. CITIZEN GROUPS IN AMERICA

> *"There is something afoot in the 1970s. Sometimes it's called "populism," sometimes "citizen action," sometimes a "movement for economic rights." Whatever you call it, it's a new politics, and it goes both broader and deeper among Americans than the movements of the sixties ever did."*
>
> *Advertisement for Working Papers.*

Citizens groups adopt all kinds of structures, postures, tactics, and sizes. A group may range in size from 2 or 3 interested citizens to major pressure groups, such as Common Cause or the Sierra Club. The group may be a highly-knit, well-organized pressure group or a loose coalition of individuals or units with relatively vague objectives. The group may be friendly to public officials or it may assume a confrontation stance. Objectives may be clearly stated, or the real purpose of the group may be hidden. Frequently, citizens may protest a particular action but may not be clear about what is desired in its place. Some organizations seek only a minor change while others are looking toward control of decisions. Some groups have been formed mainly for advice and consultation--perhaps for token participation--while others are planning-oriented with the desire to improve a community through major projects. Public officials should understand the various types of groups they contact and what their objectives are. Officials should also formulate an approach to meeting each group. Six examples of groups are discussed in this section.

1. Citizen Advisory Committees [CAC's]

Legislation establishing many public programs mandates some form of citizen involvement. Usually the weakest form of participation is suggested: an advisory group which meets at the request of officials and is limited to giving suggestions and guidance. These are known as CAC's and developed under the Urban Renewal Program. Even such committees, envisioned as token participation, can range from "rubber stamps" to potent forces for directing and altering programs.

A recent Task Force on Citizen Participation within the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare reported that:

> There are approximately 90 major and diverse programs in the Department which call for some form of citizen participation. By far the most frequently mandated form of citizen participation is that of state and/or local Advisory Committees, or Governing and/or Advisory Boards. Other forms of mandated citizen participation include: the use of paraprofessionals; the use of nonpaid or partially paid volunteers; parent involvement mechanisms; the use of the target population in the decisions of the local program; requirements that state agencies take citizens' views into consideration in developing policy and to document how that was done; and required public hearings.
>
> These mandates are a result of a combination of Congressional direction, HEW regulatory decision, or HEW program guidance. The overwhelming majority of the citizen participation requirements stem from the Department's regulations or program guidances.[1]

The Task Force found that there were, in 1976, almost 4,000 citizens serving on 338 advisory committees. The Task Force itself recommends consideration of "new and creative uses of these citizen members of HEW citizen advisory committees."[2] At a public forum in Pittsburgh (December, 1976) citizens and officials urged (a) that more power be given to citizens and their advisory committees, (b) that the advisory committees be listened to more frequently and carefully, and (c) that administrative procedures be altered to make it easier for citizens to have input into the policy forming process.

The Task Force continued its report:

> It is in the more recent years that the Congress and the Department have moved toward a broader approach to citizen participation; that is, a movement away from citizen councils and boards solely toward inclusion of "taking citizens' views into account" in the policy development process. But it is the rare statute, regulation, or program guidance memorandum that approaches citizen participation in a creative, flexible, and decentralized manner.[3]

Officials should, at least, listen carefully to the advice given by such groups, try to keep the group as representative as possible, and, whenever possible, allow decisions to be made by the advisory group itself. In another, more far-reaching step, officials, agencies, and boards can give citizens much more of a "say" by decentralizing some decisions. Citizen groups can be delegated powers to:

- carry out certain functions or programs;
- review policy proposals and make recommendations to a board or agency with power; i.e., the agency will not proceed if the citizen advisory committee vetoes the proposal;
- direct and implement several programs as a "community corporation," again a decentralized citizen body;
- have a veto power over the budget of an agency or a program;
- make grants on behalf of an agency.

Still, the official must recognize what citizens certainly do: namely, that the power to create an advisory committee suggests the power to dissolve it. CAC's remain creatures of the government. Whatever powers they have, even their focus and reason for existence may be based on the whim of an official. In terms of real citizen involvement, we would place this type of group low on any "ladder of participation."

2. Independent Citizens Groups

Groups formed by citizens almost automatically are more independent and generally more potent than organizations set up by public officials. Such independent groups may have fairly limited objectives, such as "neighborhood preservation," or short-range objectives, like "getting a traffic light at Crossbones Corner." Other groups may have much broader goals, such as the League of Women Voters or a conservation group. Common Cause or Ralph Nader's Public Interest Research Groups (PIRG's) have almost unlimited goals. We shall discuss primarily the more limited groups, i.e., groups limited to a neighborhood, municipality, or small area and focussed on one or a few aspects of improvement. When groups form there is almost always some feeling that public officials have failed to do all they can. Citizens unite to get the city to enforce building or zoning codes, to provide better police protection, or to clean the streets. Already there exists some negative feeling toward officials. Only infrequently is there a constructive attitude marked by such questions as: "What can we do to improve our area?" or "What is our responsibility?" While public attitudes seem to be rapidly changing, most action groups assume that government (a) has responsibility to provide certain services and (b) has failed to provide adequate services. As protests over increased taxation mount, there is more recognition that government cannot provide all services (at least not without more taxes and probably less citizen control).

An outstanding example of an independent citizens group, familiar to the author, is Powelton Neighbors of West Philadelphia. Near the University of Pennsylvania but quite independent from all nearby institutions and from the city administration as well, Powelton Neighbors was formed to reestablish and maintain a decent neighborhood of old, large homes. The small group of homeowners who began the organization succeeded in getting a fair proportion of homes rehabilitated. The group began to provide recreation activities for children in the area and then for adults; it formed a cooperative nursery and a cooperative food purchasing club; and it helped newcomers find homes or rehabilitate old units.

As the group developed it recognized its need for improved city services and began to muster the power to get more city aid. The group asked for and got better street cleaning, stricter code enforcement, and more frequent police patrols. Finally, the group requested a new school. Despite the fact that the area was too small to meet city-wide standards, a new neighborhood school was constructed which has helped to keep the neighborhood viable.

3. Watchdog Committees

A special form of the independent citizens' group is the Watchdog Committee. Taxpayers organizations are often considered the epitome of the Watchdog Committee. Conservation clubs, sportsmen's groups, the League of Women Voters, and other associations keep an eye on legislation or administration of particular concern to their members. Usually the focus of these committees is a single purpose.

Recently, Jack Anderson, the nationally-syndicated columnist, suggested a "citizens committee to crack down on congressmen who cheat."[4] In place of the Ethics Committees of the House of Representatives and the Senate, Anderson proposed that a citizens tribunal be given the powers to set new ethical standards, investigate abuses, and punish elected officials who violate the law. The citizens committee should be made up of six members: two appointed by the President, two by Congress, and two by the Investigative Reporters Association. The committee would be independent, powerful, and hopefully free from the temptations facing members of Congress.

Such citizens' watchdog committees gain power through their careful research, their use of media and good publicity, and, eventually, through respect of the public for their findings. Note, however, that power is earned, not delegated. The force of numbers also helps; when a group enlists the support of many thousands of citizens, it can counterbalance the power of government or big business.

4. Workshops and Seminars

Workshops and seminars differ from community groups in their purpose and their membership. They tend to be largely single-purpose groups, focused on an issue such as relocation, bikeways, or conservation. The constituency, then, is also likely to be carefully selected (or self-selected) to represent those who already have such interests. These may be formed by officials, by citizens, or by a coalition of both.

While workshops and similar groups may be temporary and are often formed to provide public officials with specific information, such groups offer other possibilities:

a. a two-way process of communication;

b. a valid "sounding board" for possible plans or projects;

c. a decision-making role as far as citizens are concerned (recognizing that subsequent official approvals are required by law);

d. a device for insuring that citizens participate in all phases of the deliberative process;

e. a means of developing new ideas.

Public officials who utilize such means of organizing citizens really make a commitment in advance to utilize their ideas. It is not a required "advisory" committee, nor is it a self-formed action group. Officials suggest by their invitation that they will carefully study and most likely use the recommendations of the group. They will also anticipate that members of such groups will attend public hearings, present informed testimony, and support their own proposals with good evidence.

5. Charettes

A new device for involving citizens and one which has attracted considerable attention is the "charette." A long process of preparation must go on beforehand. When decisions need to be made, all interested citizens, qualified professional experts, and public officials gather for a long continuous session aimed at one purpose: to arrive at a consensus. Sometimes a charette may continue over a weekend: forty-eight hours non-stop!

An example from the author's experience illustrates the process. After years of discussion in a north Washington, D.C., residential area, a decision needed to be made on the type of elementary school to be constructed. The citizens had halted one proposal although they did want a new school. One weekend parents, teachers, students, architects, municipal officials, and school personnel all met to determine the kind of school to be built. Much homework had been done. When ideas were suggested, architects translated them into plans. These were then criticized, modified, or accepted and added to other plans. By the time the weekend was over, some exhausted people had reached general agreement on a school which subsequently was constructed. And the citizens are pleased with the results!

Note, however, that the charette is the last step in a long process. The policies and decisions need to be clearly delineated in order to be accepted. The process is not a fact-finding session but a mediating session where values and ideas are reconciled. In case of great difficulties in reaching agreement, a community could try such a method. It involves as many citizens as are interested as well as responsible officials. The process provides instant feedback, and it should result in a consensus if that is possible at all. Failure to reach a consensus may indicate that some basic misconceptions exist.

A slight modification of this process is used by many architects today. The talented architects and planners of Urban Design Associates of Pittsburgh, for example, sit down and talk with all parties interested in a school or other public building before a single sketch is drawn. Children, teachers, and others are encouraged to draw up their impressions of what a school, for example, should be like, what is good, and what they dislike. The architect/discussion leaders can then sketch out ideas until there is consensus. When racial tension kept other schools in Pontiac, Michigan, closed a few years ago, the citizen-designed Human Resource Center was open and serving a multi-racial group of students right in the heart of the city. The process does work and gets citizens committed.

6. People's Organizations

Broadly-focused community organizations have developed in many cities, aided by the Industrial Areas Foundation (IAF) under the leadership of the late Saul Alinsky. These are labelled "Peoples' Organizations" by the founder because the emphasis is on self-development by the citizens. An organizer is never sent unless a representative and responsible group of citizens and/or officials request such help. Some of the best known of these organizations are: The Woodlawn Organization, Chicago; FIGHT of Rochester, N.Y.; the United Farmworkers Organization based in California and guided by Cesar Chavez; and the original Back-of-the-Yards Movement.

People's Organizations focus more on issues than on service: What concerns do people have? What city services are being denied them? How can they unite to fight crime or absentee landlords? Such issues often lead to power struggles and conflict. One of the aims of the IAF has been the development of power for the citizens. "Since the building of a People's Organization is the building of a viable power group, it becomes a threat and intrusion to the existing power arrangements."[5]

People in these organizations are encouraged to learn about their community, about the power structure and the way decisions are made, about issues and policies affecting the community, and about how other citizens view the issues and the community. The aim is "popular education." Another concept emerging from the educational process is the search for "native leadership." Officers of People's Organizations are always local citizens. Many times they are middle-class or blue-collar workers without previous leadership experience. Currently the author is associated with a People's Organization whose president is new to leadership, is trained as a boilermaker, and is currently unemployed.

The role of the professional organizer is essential in a People's Organization. The organizer is available to help but is never out front. The organizer may help discover issues, instruct in research methods, create situations in which people can discuss issues, and encourage leadership development. Following the advice of Saul Alinsky, the organizer helps people develop faith in themselves, their fellow citizens, and the future.

STUDY QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the advantages and disadvantages of CAC's to public officials and to citizens desiring some change.

2. Describe some of the characteristics of an independent citizens group.

3. How does a Watchdog Committee differ from an independent citizens group focused on neighborhood maintenance?

4. Under what conditions can a charette be used?

5. What purposes can workshops and seminars serve for officials?. . . for citizens?

6. How do people's organizations differ from independent citizens groups? Would peoples' organizations be likely to achieve more power than independent citizens groups?

B. ACCOUNTABLE OFFICIALS MEET WITH CITIZEN GROUPS

Given the wide variety of citizen groups, their diverse positions, and citizen's frequent hostility to or mistrust of public officials, it is no wonder that meeting with citizen groups is often disliked by officials. But handled with the proper preparation and planning, such meetings can prove beneficial to both citizens and public officials.

An interested group of citizens can provide an official with information obtainable nowhere else. This is especially true of attitudes: What are the citizens thinking? What are their concerns? Would they like a new road, a swimming pool, or lower taxes?

The official can help citizens become aware of problems faced by the municipality and difficulties of which they are unaware. If the official is successful, the citizens may lend their support to help win particular issues, or, at least, they may become less hostile. Meeting with citizens can be good public relations for officials. Better relationships and individual acquaintances can assist the official in this and future problems.

Certainly there are costs as well as benefits to meeting with citizens. The official may create more hostility rather than calm the voters. The press may emphasize the confrontational nature of the meeting, finding conflict where none exists. Such meetings take their toll of time, energy, and goodwill. Frequently, there are technical or cost considerations which prevent the official from doing what citizens desire. Subordinates may resent an official spending time with citizens and, worse, perhaps making commitments to them.

When officials meet with citizens in groups, they can use the following suggestions that may help make the meeting meaningful and constructive for all participants and avoid destructive efforts and effects.

1. Officials should not wait until issues arise or conflict is inevitable to meet with citizens. Officials should attempt to establish cordial relationships with citizen groups early.

2. Let the media know what you are doing and why. Make it clear that you, as an official, are meeting with citizens by choice. Seek to emphasize the positive aspects of the meeting, and avoid any resemblance of conflict. Hopefully, make this a joint information release to demonstrate that officials are not seeking to grab the credit for the meeting.

3. Establish the setting of the meeting so it will clearly be a meeting of equals. Avoid raised platforms, lecterns, or head tables. Speak directly to citizens. Don't use Robert's Rules unless there is a very large group present. Avoid titles.

4. If possible, meet with group leaders to set up a mutually agreeable agenda and/or format for the meeting as well as ground rules for the conduct of the meeting.

5. Attempt to keep the meeting on a dialogue basis. Avoid prepared speeches or a hearing type of format.

6. Don't speak over the heads of the audience by using technical terms or jargon. Follow the maxim: "Never underestimate the intelligence of citizens but don't overestimate the knowledge of people."

7. Answer questions openly and as fairly as possible.

8. In case of opposing views, show how you arrived at the particular decision by reviewing your facts (and other supporting information or groups) and your reasoning.

9. Use enough facts to support your position but never try to drown the citizens with an overabundance of data.

10. Recognize that everyone wants an opportunity to express a veiwpoint and that some may use the meeting to let off steam.

11. Help the citizens who are present to understand the limits to government provision of services and also the need to share government facilities and services among all sections of the community. State the official's willingness to work cooperatively to attain the goals of the group.

12. If the meeting seems to be moving toward hostility or worse, violence, attempt to adjourn the meeting, but don't let this be seen as your attempt to avoid listening to all sides of an issue.

13. If the meeting has moved toward a consensus, seek to have this expressed, perhaps in the form of a motion. For example,

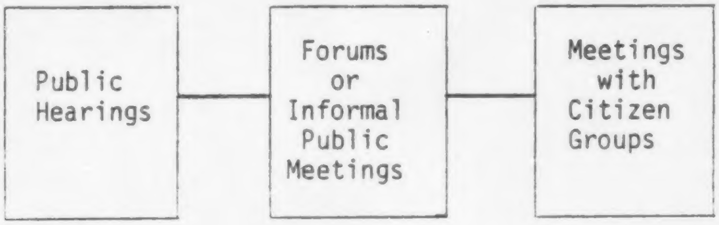
    We, twenty-five citizens and the mayor of Oakdale, have discussed the location of the new expressway and have decided: (a)--- (b)--- (c)--- etc.

14. Consider the time and place of the next meeting. Indicate continued willingness to meet with citizens.

15. Arrange for a summary of the meeting to be made available for those who attended and for interested others who were not able to attend.
16. Be sure that responsibilities are assigned and accepted so that all activity does not cease before the next meeting.
17. Agree on an evaluative session in which officials and citizens can discuss what the meeting accomplished.

No one wants to wast time in meetings. Citizens want to feel needed and important; they want to believe their opinions are heard and utilized. The officials can help give a sense of credibility by presenting real issues to be decided: "We need your opinion on this..." or "You can help us decide whether to select option A or option B." Some meetings with citizens turn out to be unfruitful because officials present facts but never make it clear to citizens just how their participation can be helpful. Both citizens and officials benefit when it is clear what problems exist, what policy options are available, and how citizen input will be utilized. It should also be made clear how much latitude the officials will give to citizen opinions, and at what point other considerations, such as costs, technical restrictions, federal regulations, or other competing interests take precedence over citizen views.

Meetings with citizen groups should be informal and informative with emphasis on two-way communication. We see them as on one end of a participation process continuum with more formal public hearings on the other and with public forums (or meetings) in between. [In the next module, we will discuss public assemblies, informal public meetings, forums, and formal public hearings.]


Public Hearings
Forums or Informal Public Meetings
Meetings with Citizen Groups

7. When should officials seek to meet with citizens?

8. Summarize the suggestions about meeting with citizens into a few brief statements.

9. What characteristics and values should officials express when meeting with citizens?

274

C. CITIZENS MEET TO PLAN AND ACT

Most citizen or volunteer groups form spontaneously or as a result of the interests and efforts of one or a few leaders. Only a minority of citizens' groups are formed by public action or through the stimulus of a public official. In fact, there seems to be considerable feeling among volunteer leaders that a citizens' group cannot achieve its ends if it is sponsored or co-opted by a governmental agency.

When citizens meet they have many of the challenges of any organization whether it be governmental, business, religious, or other. What are the purposes or objectives of the organization? How are these objectives to be attained? What structure should the organization adopt? Should there be paid staff or an all volunteer effort? What are the resources and how should these be expended? Should by-laws be prepared and adopted, or should the organization try to meet informally with little in the way of rules, procedures, or formalities decided upon in advance? Will the organization continue only until its announced objectives are achieved, or will it adopt new goals and continue indefintely?

A community person who has an idea and wants to influence some public policy usually must recruit other citizens who will support the concept. The first step normally will be face-to-face contacts, as discussed in Module 6. However, sometimes a form letter or a series of telephone calls can invite citizens to a meeting. The next step, generally, is the calling of a meeting. This may be the crucial test of the idea. If enough response has been generated citizens will attend; if not, the originator will have to begin again.

Let us assume the citizens have met and agreed upon the idea, objectives, and the organizational form. They have also consulted the appropriate official and are not satisfied. The next stop will be to decide upon some form of action. This may be as simple as sending a letter to an official requesting arrangement of, for example, placement of a stop sign at an intersection, a meeting with the citizens, or improvement of a neighborhood playground. It is considered an excellent organizing principle that the first project selected should have a high probability for success. Citizens may lose enthusiasm for an organization which suffers defeats. In other words, the first action should not be a major controversial project. The author did participate in one such struggle in which a newly-formed neighborhood group inadvertently got involved in a major power struggle. The issue revolved around the opening of a nightclub at the edge of the area, and shortly involved many public officials, a large bank, and an alleged "rackets" group. When the Mayor of the city took the side of the citizens, the neighborhood was relieved of the principal burden of maintaining the struggle. The citizens' group has continued and taken on more problems. Failure in that first struggle could have eliminated that organization in its early days.

Citizens generally want to work closely with public officials, co-operating with them whenever possible. So, after deciding upon a particular cause, the group may establish contact with the appropriate official or officials. This may be done in several ways:

- a telephone call to an official;
- a call or visit to the official complaint center or ombudsman;
- a letter to a department head;
- personal contacts with an official by the members;
- use of an intermediary: a political official, a prominent business person, a civic leader, or others,
- a personal invitation to the official to meet with the citizens.

Citizens' groups, themselves, must be careful to practice democratic processes in the meetings and actions. Those who make decisions should be representative of the entire community as far as possible. Certainly all neighbors who are potentially concerned should be invited to meet. If elections are held or decisions made, care should be taken to ensure that no one feels "railroaded." Very often citizen groups meet and make decisions with the feeling that the group truly represents community values and attitudes only to discover that a substantial proportion of citizens do not support the decisions. Public officials frequently question the representativeness of such groups. Another issue which may splinter associations is the choice of strategies and tactics. There are always those who agree with the aims of the organization but who prefer not to take "drastic" actions. Others believe that failure to pursue a controversial tactic really means doing nothing.

When meeting with officials, either on an informal manner or in a public gathering, citizens should:

- have a clear idea of what they want and how the official can make at possible;
- maintain an aura of friendship and cooperation whenever possible;
- provide evidence of the strength of the group and the unanimity of the group, if possible;
- meet beforehand to agree upon objectives, tactics, and desired goals;
- meet afterward to "debrief," to evaluate the meeting, to decide what was accomplished, and to plan follow-up steps;
- summarize the accomplishments of the meeting and any decisions agreed upon in a letter to the official and to other concerned citizens.

Citizens' meetings do not have to be formal or organized according to Roberts' Rules of Order. In fact, one of the main purposes of citizens meetings is to get as many people participating as possible, to winnow out the ideas and suggestions of people, and to reach consensus. To do this, there are many variations of meetings. A few are:

- Brainstorming: informal sessions where everyone present is encouraged to provide ideas.
- Nominal Group Techniques: similar to brainstorming but with each person first asked to write out ideas and then one person at a time contribute one idea until all suggestions have been recorded on a blackboard. This encourages the less aggressive members especially since no criticism of any idea is allowed until all ideas are out.
- Committees and Task Forces: assigning limited responsibilities to small groups so more indepth analysis of a problem or solution is possible; recommendations are presented to the whole group for decisions.
- Delphi Technique: use of written responses at least prior to group discussions or in place of group meetings.
- Social Gatherings: may be used to promote an idea, introduce an official, organize a group, agree upon an action, etc; often called "coffees" or "teas"; block parties, or wine and cheese events.

10. List the steps which a concerned citizen might take to enlist the aid of neighbors in changing a public policy.

11. How might the concerned citizen, together with friends, make contact with a public official? Can you add any other means?

12. What important principle must citizen groups follow in their organizing, meeting, and acting? Why is this important?

13. Explain the importance of pre-meeting planning and of debriefing after a meeting.

14. Consider the types of meetings which citizen groups might hold. Identify one experience you have had with each of the more common approaches.

D. CASE STUDY: PLANNING THE BIKEWAY

The Pittsburgh Bikeway

Several bicycling groups encourage the use of bicycles in Pittsburgh, but little has been accomplished by public action to plan and develop bikeways, make the streets safer for bicycles, provide secure parking areas for bikes, or educate drivers on the rights of cyclists. After some correspondence, an official from the Department of Parks and Recreation suggested a meeting of officials and members of one bicycling club. After a delay of about six weeks, one volunteer agreed to contact all the cycling groups and arrange a meeting with officials.

Many telephone calls were made to select a date. Some discussion of issues took place during these calls. When a date was agreed upon, it was less then 48 hours in the future. A telephone call to the responsible official was disheartening: all of the staff members were occupied that day with a long-standing commitment,but he would call back in one hour. The call was returned. Not only would the Parks and Recreation official meet at the proposed time, but he would have other officials (from Public Works) present.

Again, more telephone calls. This time the citizen cyclists agreed to meet one hour before the official meeting. At that time an agenda of important items was agreed upon. Those cyclists present agreed that a 15-mile bikeway was urgent; commuting-by-bicycles was of next importance. Altogether a list of eleven items was suggested for discussion and arranged in order of priority. The group also agreed to seek at least one firm commitment from the officials.

The meeting between cyclists and officials was held as scheduled after some slight delay in arranging a room. The atmosphere was friendly and open. Almost immediately the official informed the group that plans were completed for the 15-mile recreational bikeway, based largely upon proposals previously made by the bicyclists' representative. After some questionning took place, the cyclists expressed appreciation for the progress made in planning the bikeway.

Additional items on the cyclists' agenda were then discussed. The commuting by bicycle concept proved to be the most difficult. The city officials seemed interested, but they pointed out all of the difficulties, including the fact that few persons entering downtown Pittsburgh use bicycles, existing facilities in parking garages are unused, and there seem to be dangers in cyclists challenging Pittsburgh streets and drivers.

After more than an hour, the cyclists had covered the agenda topics, had agreed to contact another influential agency, and planned to meet again with the responsible officials.

In a debriefing session following the meeting, the cyclists reached consensus that:

- the city officials had been accountable to citizens in their sharing of information and in using basically the same plans which emanated from the group themselves;

- it was essential that all five groups continue to communicate and take action together rather than work separately;

- a firm commitment had been made to the first priority concern and the willingness to meet again shortly was expressed;

- both citizens and officials shared the concepts of commuting-by-bicycle, but both had to face the tough question: How do you get the job done?

- the meeting with the officials was informative and probably instrumental in encouraging progress; but it was only a first step.

15. From information presented in this Module and from your own experience, why is it desirable for bicyclists (as well as other concerned citizens) to form coalitions?

16. What evidence in the case study suggests that the guidelines for official-citizens meetings were followed? Were there guidelines that were not followed?

17. In your own words, explain the advantages of a preliminary citizens meeting before and a debriefing session after a meeting with officials.

FOOTNOTES

1. Task Force on Citizen Participation, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Federal Register, November 10, 1976, p. 49774.

2. Ibid., p. 49779.

3. Ibid., p. 49774.

4. Jack Anderson, "Citizens Committee to Crack Down on Congressmen Who Cheat," Parade, November 21, 1976, pp. 4-5.

5. Saul Alinsky, Reveille for Radicals, Vintage Books, 1969, p. 132.

ASSIGNMENT

The project assigned below should be completed using some of the concepts and guidelines presented in this module and Module 5. Two copies of your response should be mailed to the instructor. One copy will be returned to you with comments and the other will be retained as part of your course record.

Prepare a 4 page newsletter in the form that a community organization or citizens' action group might publish. The newsletter should present several separate stories including:

- *the agenda for the next meeting of the organization;*
- *the rules for conducting the next meeting;*
- *details about the project which will be discussed at the meeting;*
- *comments regarding background of one or several officials who are expected to attend the next meeting.*

The newsletter should demonstrate:

- *your understanding of concepts presented in this module;*
- *appropriate language for the citizens you are attempting to reach;*
- *principles of using communication skills (Refer to Module 5).*

NOTE: This assignment seeks to unite the concepts of Module 7, Meeting Citizens in Groups, with methods and skills learned in Module 5, Communicating for Accountability.

If this Module is being used alone, or if for good reason the student cannot utilize the newsletter format, submit the four stories in usual report form.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. GENERAL

   a. Cunningham, James., The Resurgent Neighborhood, South Bent, Indiana: Fides Publishers, 1965.

   b. Delbecq, Andre, et.al., Group Techniques for Program Planning: A Guide to Nominal Group and Delphi Processes. Glenview, Illinois: Scott Foresman, 1975.

   c. Dunham, Arthur, The New Community Organization. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1970 (especially part three, Community Organization at Work.)

2. PEOPLE'S ORGANIZATIONS AND SAUL ALINSKY

   a. Alinsky, Saul, Reveille for Radicals, New York: Vintage Books, 1969.

   b. Alinsky, Saul, Rules for Radicals, New York: Random House, 1971.

   c. Bailey, Robert, Radicals in Urban Politics, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972.

   d. Sanders, Marion K. The Professional Radical: Conversations with Saul Alinsky. New York: Harper-Row 1970.

   e. Silberman, Charles E., Crisis in Black and White, New York: Random House, 1964.

   f. Spiegel, Hans B. C., editor, Citizen Participation in Urban Development Volume I: Concepts and Issues. Washington D.C.: Center for Community affairs, NTL Institute for Applied Behavioral Change, 1969 (Section IV, Alinsky, pp. 149-205.)

PA 816
PUBLIC ACCOUNTABILITY

MODULE 8:
PUBLIC ASSEMBLIES

PREPARED

BY:

DR. CLIFFORD HAM

UNIVERSITY EXTERNAL STUDIES PROGRAM

Developed by the University External Studies Program and the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs, University of Pittsburgh. Under Contract to The Urban Management Curriculum Development Project, The National Training and Development Service, 5028 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20016. Funded by The Office of the Assistant Secretary for Policy Development and Research, U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development.

MODULE 8: PUBLIC ASSEMBLIES

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Title . . . . . Page

Key Terms and Concepts XII.8.1

Introduction XII.8.1

Objectives XII.8.2

Overview XII.8.3

Module Readings

A. Three Types of Public Assemblies XII.8.4

B. Purposes and Timing for Public Assemblies XII.8.8

C. A Recipe for Public Assemblies XII.8.12

D. Maximizing Citizen Participation XII.8.19

Module Assignment XII.8.22

Selected Bibliography XII.8.24

MODULE 8: PUBLIC ASSEMBLIES

KEY TERMS AND CONCEPTS

- Public Assemblies
- Public Hearings
- Public Meetings
- Public Forums

INTRODUCTION

The most visible form of citizen participation and accountability is undoubtedly the public hearing. In the conduct of the hearing, officials are exposed to public scrutiny; their attitudes toward people and programs and their behavior are all observable. Responsiveness to constituencies will be apparent. But there are other less formal gatherings than public hearings in which the officials' attitudes and behaviors are observable.

In this module, we will discuss three types of large public assemblies of which the public hearing is just one. While they differ in purpose and formality, the principles for planning, organizing, conducting, and following-up will be similar. Note also that much of the advice written in Module 7 (Meeting Citizens in Groups), while particularly aimed at small groups, is generally applicable to larger groups.

The three types of large public assemblies discussed in this module are:

- Public Hearings
- Public Meetings
- Public Forums or Conferences.

Each will be discussed briefly to distinguish the differences among them. The rest of the module will present material generally applicable to each type.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After completion of this module a person should be able to:

1. Identify types of public assemblies.
2. Explain the purposes that public assemblies serve.
3. Summarize the procedures for planning, organizing, conducting, and folowing-up public assemblies,
4. State five means by which a public official can involve citizens more effectively in public assemblies.
5. Explain the relationship between holding public assemblies and accountability.

OVERVIEW

Objectives	Tasks	Resources	Evaluation
1. Identify types of public assemblies.	Study Question 1	Module Reading: A	Self
2. Explain the purposes that public assemblies serve.	Study Question 2	Module Reading: B	Self
3. Summarize the procedures for planning. organizing, conducting, and following-up public assemblies.	Study Questions 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 Module Assignment (Parts 1,2,3,4,5,6)	Module Reading: C Module Readings and your experience	Self Instructor Feedback
4. State five means by which a public official can involve citizens more effectively in public assemblies.	Study Question 8	Module Reading: D	Self
5. Explain the relationship between holding public assemblies and accountability.	Module Assignment (Part 7)	Module Readings and Your Experience	Instructor Feedback

A. THREE TYPES OF PUBLIC ASSEMBLIES

1. Public hearings are a form of public assembly distinguished by legal requirements and structure. Public hearings are usually required by law--probably by the particular legislation which authorizes a program. They are highly structured and formal in conduct; they have established rules regarding testimony and generally result in an official, reviewable record. Because of these structures, a minimum number of hearings is scheduled, generally only one prior to implementation of a project, but perhaps two or three if required by law. Communication tends to be one-way with little opportunity for dialogue or feedback. The impact of citizen participation can only be determined by subsequent official actions.

A well-known example of the required public hearing was that typically scheduled in urban renewal areas. After all planning was done and many decisions were made (even after money was committed to the project by the Federal government), one public hearing was held. Once in a great while a strong, vocal citizens group could hold up or "veto" the project. Frequently the leaders of the community had already relocated. Normally, then, the hearing was held before City Council, and no choice was left to anyone other than to approve the project.

Officials and legislators have learned from this experience, and now more than one hearing is often required by law. Hearings may be held earlier, and citizens are often well prepared for the hearing. Even better, the citizens have worked cooperatively with the agency and generally support the proposals. The Corps of Engineers, for example, requires three public hearings at three "check points" in the project planning process: 1) one or more intitial public meetings to discuss problems and needs; 2) a meeting to discuss alternatives and to formulate a program; 3) a final hearing to allow input into a final report. The Corps calls these "meetings" but they are required and have tended to be rather formal, thus they really fit our categorization of hearings. Sometimes these additional hearings or meetings may be mandated by law and at other times by administrative regulation.

Another hearing mandated by law is that held in cities prior to distribution of Community Development block grants. Such hearings have tended to be perfunctory, and citizens have little reason to expect change because of their input. In Pittsburgh, the author attended one such hearing. Although audience participation was high, there was no feedback from the panel (the City Planning Commission) and little subsequent response in terms of changes in plan. City Councils often hold "hearings" at which citizens may present their views. It is indeed rare when a citizen can establish dialogue with one or more members of the Council.

2. Public meetings are less formal, unrequired, and may be more responsive to citizen input. Because they are less formal they encourage dialogue and feedback. Questions can be asked and answers provided without the restraints of a legal cross-examination. Meetings can be held at different times for varying purposes and, therefore, may be scheduled frequently. Public meetings should be held during several of the phases of a program: 1) problem discussion; 2) goal formulation; 3) alternatives planning; 4) decision-making (this could be a legal public hearing); 5) implementation; and 6) evaluation. Certainly the more informal participation engendered in a public meeting, as contrasted with a public hearing, fits all phases of the planning process and gives citizens the opportunity to present their views and receive reaction from officials.

Meetings may be called by either an official agency or by citizens. Very often the meeting will be scheduled to discuss a problem or citizen concern before a specific project is proposed. Consequently, the whole tenor of the meeting can be more informal and more likely to be directed by the citizens. Some public meetings may be called and chaired by an agency; others may be called by citizens who can then plan the agenda and chair the meeting.

Several meetings in one city have been held recently to discuss crime in the neighborhoods. Most of these meetings have been planned by citizens, and officials have been invited. Attempts are made to work out, jointly, solutions to problems such as burglaries, muggings, or car thefts. In one instance citizens and officials agreed upon a citizen group which would aid the police in monitoring a high crime area. In another similar meeting, citizens tended to confront the police and antagonisms arose. It is quite apparent from observation of these meetings that officials are being judged for their accountability; and, accountability is more readily apparent in public meetings than in public hearings.

3. Public forums or conferences are public assemblies scheduled primarily for the exchange of information between citizens and officials. An official agency may plan a forum to present its ideas on a project for a community, or it may jointly sponsor a public conference with a citizens' group to hear citizen reactions to ongoing programs in the area. The atmosphere should be informal with two-way communication stressed. While some citizens may be prepared for the discussions in a forum or conference as a result of previous workshops or small group meetings which they attended, others in attendance may be new to the ideas being presented and, therefore, must be provided with information before they can make a significant contribution.

Forums differ from public hearings and meetings in that their primary focus is on information. An example of a "forum" is another meeting on crime held in a city neighborhood. This forum included a panel composed of a police official, a judge, a probation officer, and a prison executive. Each was asked to give opinions as to the causes of crime and possible solutions. Citizens asked questions and expected responses from officials; at the same forum the officials were able to question citizens. Two-way communication is a a prerequisite for forums and conferences.

In summary, we may say that assemblies are held, primarily, for the following reasons: (See Figure 8-1)

- Public Hearings - to comply with legal requirements
- Public Meetings - to receive citizen input
- Public Forums and Conference - to exchange information

Other purposes assemblies may accomplish will be discussed in Section B (Purposes and Timing for Public Assemblies).

FIGURE 8-1

Types of Public Assemblies With Some Associated Characteristics

Type of Public Assembly	Sponsor or Convenor	Primary Reason for Holding the Assembly	Type of Communication Likely	Degree of Citizen Participation Likely
Public hearing	Official agency or government	To meet legal requirements	One-way	Limited
Public meeting	Either government or citizens	To obtain citizen input	Either one-way or two-way	May be anywhere from low to high
Public forum	Officials or citizens	To exchange information	Two-way	Probably high degree of participation

STUDY QUESTIONS

1. Three types of public assembly have been described in the preceding section.

   a. Write a one paragraph "summary" of a "public hearing" as a newspaper might do. Include in your summary enough information to show: the reason for holding the hearing, the amount of citizen participation, the type of communication observed, and the convenor of the meeting. (See Figure 8-1)

   b. Do the same for a "public meeting" and for a "public forum".

   NOTE: The meetings may be real or hypothetical.

B. PURPOSES AND TIMING FOR PUBLIC ASSEMBLIES

Public hearings, meetings, and forums and conferences may be held for a variety of purposes. Even mandated public hearings may serve purposes beyond complying with the legal requirement. Briefly, some of the purposes may be grouped into the following categores:

- Legal - referring mainly to the formal public hearing, although, increasingly, legislation mandates more citizen participation than just one hearing. The requirements say little about the effects of a hearing, the objective of holding it, or the impact on legislation, but they do require that a formal, well-advertised public hearing be held before subsequent action can be authorized.
- Educational - presenting facts, proposals, plans, or other information, mainly from an official agency to the public.
- Fact-finding - learning facts, perceptions, proposals from the citizens. This is especially important in discovering problems.
- Ascertaining attitudes of citizens - like fact-finding, learning from citizens what they think of programs, problems, officials, implementation of projects, etc.
- Strategy-development - working with citizens to agree on a strategy for cooperation, for carrying out programs, or for other matters. A current example would be neighborhood groups working with policy officials to develop a joint effort against crime in the area.

- Ventilation - occasionally meetings are planned (but more likely just happen) to let citizens vent their feelings of anger, frustration, and disappointment in front of public officials. Hopefully the display "clears the air" and the groups can then work together. Public officials should not be unduly alarmed at "noisy public meetings"; frequently they are necessary when citizens cannot understand the long delays or the mistakes of bureaucracy!

- Sounding Board - public assemblies can be valuable to officials for testing ideas and trying out proposed programs or changes in policy on a group of citizens. The purpose generally should be made clear beforehand. This is something like a "sneak preview" of a movie--testing it with a public audience before it is shown generally.

- Strategic - sometimes meetings are deliberately staged to counter two competitive groups or to work out cooperation between two or more neighborhoods.

The timing of meetings depends, to some extent, on the purpose. A meeting called to discuss problems and issues obviously must come prior to a discussion of alternative programs. A final official hearing can only be held after considerable planning and discussion, but public hearings can also be held at various times in a planning process to corroborate decisions and progress.

The major emphasis here is that public assemblies should not be scheduled "by the book" or in a rigid, predetermined fashion. Meetings should be frequent and should be called as needed by either citizens or officials when the meeting is considered necessary or highly desirable.

Timing is very important and frequently is the worst-planned element in public meetings. Some meetings are held so early that citizens are not adequately notified of the proposal or informed of its consequences; very few citizens attend and those who do may be overwhelmed. More meetings (probably a goodly number of official public hearings) are held too late. Decisions have already been arranged, commitments made, and work may even have started. Citizens may attend but find their voices too late and too limited to change decisions. If several public meetings are scheduled during the continuing phases of planning and if one of these is "official," citizen participation is encouraged and developed. A well-planned, appropriately timed public hearing "fits" into a total public involvement operation. Without such a continuing operation the one official public hearing should be carefully scheduled to reach the largest possible number of informed, concerned citizens.

It is recognized, however, that public hearings and other forms of assembly are costly to the government. Some of the costs are:

- time of officials spent planning meetings or attending meetings;
- efforts spent on communications for inviting citizens;
- direct costs of travel, food, materials, visual aids, etc.;
- unwillingness of citizens to attend too many assemblies causing attendance to decline.

In addition, public officials often are very much concerned about the outcome of meetings, which causes their tensions to rise before meetings.

Benefits from frequent assemblies can also be cited:

- better communication with citizens;
- step-by-step agreement on projects;
- reduced danger of final veto or opposition by citizens;
- establishment of good working relationships between officials and citizens;
- heading off major disagreements early.

An excellent way of meeting with citizens yet avoiding large public assemblies is gathering citizens into smaller groups, especially on the basis of their interests, and meeting with them as suggested in Module 7. It is strongly urged that many meetings with small groups be held before larger assemblies are scheduled.

STUDY QUESTIONS

2. Each of the following brief case studies implies a purpose for holding a public assembly; match one of the purposes with the appropriate case study.

Purposes

Legal; Educational; Fact-finding; Attitude-finding; Strategy development; Sounding Board; Ventilation; Strategic.

Case Studies

a. The mayor of a city wants to discover whether citizens are more concerned about crime or a possible raise in taxes. For what purpose might an assembly be called? ______________

b. New regulations have emanated from Washington D.C., requiring a change in garbage and trash collection locally. This will require citizens to change their habits of throwing all trash, garbage, bottles, etc. in one container. The purpose for a meeting would be: ____________________

c. Three communities each want the proposed new elementary school located within their boundaries. The school superintendent has an "ideal location" central to all three areas. The superintendent might call a meeting for ____________ purposes.

d. Neighborhood X has become very much upset about burglaries within its residential area. The Mayor and the Police Commissioner decide to hold an assembly with the main purpose being: ______________

e. The Public Works Department has a new approach to rebuilding city streets. It will cost less in dollars but could cause inconvenience to citizens. A meeting might be used for:

____

f. After months of planning, a neighborhood rehabilitation plan has been worked out with residents and agency staff. The Board now must schedule a ________________ to meet ______ requirements before the agency can proceed further.

g. The proposed new community boards have not been approved yet. The Mayor, City Councilmen, and citizens have differing ideas as to the number of community boards. A coalition of citizens decides to call an assembly for the purpose of ____________; the aim probably is to ______________________________.

h. Before the coalition of citizens (see g above) called its assembly, it had convened a series of meetings in neighborhoods to ascertain what the residents perceived as boundaries. The purpose of these meetings could be called: ____________.

ANSWER KEY

2. a. attitude-finding; b. educational, c. strategic; d. ventilation or strategy-development; e. sounding board, f. hearing .... legal requirements; g. strategy-development. . . come to an agreement on the number of boards; h. fact-finding.

C. A RECIPE FOR PUBLIC ASSEMBLIES

Successful and harmonious public assemblies do not just happen. There are ways of conducting public meetings so that desired outcomes are realized, citizens are satisfied, and the accountability of public officials is demonstrated. This section presents a recipe for such assemblies.

The ingredients in our proposed recipe are: 1) preplanning, 2) organizing, 3) conducting, and 4) following-up the meeting. Preplanning refers to the preparation done prior to the announcement of the assembly. Organizing is the stage of planning between the announcement and the convening of the meeting. Conducting, as the name implies, represents the procedures and ground rules which are used to "run" the assembly. Follow-up starts immediately at the close of the assembly, although some elements, such as a summary resolution, may begin at the conclusion of the meeting.

The recipe calls for a process of citizen participation beginning either in the preplanning stage or at least in the organizing stage. In a way, participation is analagous to the yeast in a bread recipe: without the yeast bread is flat and uninteresting. Assemblies without participation are the same.

1. Preplanning. In this phase of preparation before a meeting is publicly announced, officials may want to make decisions themselves without citizen participation. In meetings called and sponsored by a public agency, those officials may choose to take the steps proposed below before informing citizens. On the other hand, there is nothing to preclude citizen involvement from the beginning of the process; in fact, if citizens are already participating in policy formation with officials, they probably will be aware of this preplanning activity and will relate to it easily. And if citizens organize to sponsor a public assembly, they may do some preplanning before involving officials.

The preplanning stage should include at least the following four steps: a) identifying needs of officials and the community; b) deciding the purpose or purposes of the assembly and specific objectives to be attained; c) determining the scope and content of the assembly; and d) selecting strategies for achieving the objectives.

a. The community should be carefully studied to ascertain needs and how these fit with agency concerns and resources. The needs of officials and their reasons for calling citizens together should be discussed. The relative importance of an assembly and its relevance to the needs of citizens and officials should be considered.

b. After it has been agreed to convene a meeting, the purpose (or purposes) should be clearly spelled out, and specific objectives should be accepted for the meeting. Such objectives should not be broad aims ("we want this urban renewal project approved") but should try to be more specific ("This meeting should: 1. inform citizens about the current state of planning; 2. ascertain their attitudes on the amount of clearance proposed; 3. establish a working committee to permit continuing communication between the planners and the community leaders").

c. While the purpose of the meeting may help determine its scope and content, the preplanners may decide that there is too much content for one public assembly or that the scope of the reports should be curtailed. Constraints such as a two-hour maximum for the meeting, a limit on the number of "experts" who can testify, and a heavy demand by citizens to speak may all suggest a fairly limited scope of subject matter in one meeting and the need to plan more assemblies.

d. The last element in preplanning is the selection of strategies. For example,

- Should there be one meeting or a series of meetings?
- Should these meetings be in one central location or in several locations?
- Who must be involved in order that citizen participation is seen as adequate and meaningful?
- What will be the agenda for the meeting? . . . How much time will be allotted to citizens? . . . How much time will be alloted to officials?
- What methods can be used to achieve the selected objectives?
- Are there special groundrules which should be proposed for the assembly?
- How can audio-visual aids and other communications mechanisms be used to aid in achieving the objectives?
- How will this meeting relate to subsequent meetings and to other participation activities?

Clearly the preplanners will be concerned with other matters of strategy depending upon the local situation, the specific needs, and other factors.

2. Organizing. By the time an assembly is announced, citizens should be playing a role in the planning process. A major purpose in planning public assemblies (with the possible exception of public hearings) is to involve citizens. They can be of help in organizing the meeting, in helping to decide many questions, and in providing information relevant to the meeting.

To improve citizen involvement, the proposed meeting should be scheduled far enough in advance to allow sufficient time for joint citizen-official cooperation. Time must also be allowed to enable citizens to become prepared; they must learn of the meeting, read preparatory material that is distributed, organize any testimony or presentations, and invite their friends.

In addition to scheduling the date of the meeting, an appropriate time should be arranged, especially one which will be convenient for those citizens expected to attend. If most citizens work during the day, then arrange the meeting in the evening. If many people are free in the morning, perhaps that would be a desirable time. Maybe two meetings should be held to meet the needs of all groups. Because this meeting may be one of a sequence of meetings, citizens should review the sequence and purposes of the series.

Citizens can help to select a neutral setting for the meeting. The location should be convenient for the citizens who are expected to participate. The setting should be pleasant, the right size, appropriate for the type of meeting, and suitable for the use of visual aids.

A planned public relations effort should be mounted to ensure that news of the meeting is widely disseminated, using a variety of communications methods and media. Announcements can be made via newsletters, newspapers, radio, television, and community bulletin boards. In addition specific invitations may be directed to individuals and groups having special interests in the proposed meeting by means of personal letters or telephone calls. The announcements and invitation should clearly state the purpose of the meeting so that the citizens can decide what kind of contribution they are able to make and can prepare to make it. When the public relations effort has ended, no citizen should be able to say that news of the meeting did not get to all interested persons.

Citizens should help select a moderator or chairperson for the meeting. The moderator should be neutral, impartial, and capable of steering the meeting toward resolution. An official may be the choice of the organizing committee, but confidence in citizens can be expressed by selecting someone who is not an official.

3. Conducting the meeting. The atmosphere of the meeting has a significant impact on the participants. Attention should be paid to such details as the lighting, the smooth operation of any audio-visual equipment, and the distribution of printed materials. The setting should be utilized to its best advantage. Avoid, if possible, chairs set up in straight lines. On the other hand, the setting should suggest the scope of planning and organizing done in preparation. Distracting influences, like large windows or pictures, should be covered or arranged behind the audience.

The moderator should judge the audience carefully, determining who is present, what issues or concerns may be brought up, how to address the group, and how to involve as many attendees as possible in the deliberations.

The organizers should have made plans for obtaining the names (and addresses, probably) of those attending. As they enter, or later, the attendees should be asked to record their presence and, perhaps, their concerns. Name tags for all present may be decided upon, but in a large meeting this may be useless. It is helpful to citizens, however, if all officials have name tags including both name and position.

Early in the meeting an impression of impartiality should be established. The moderator may want to establish rules for conducting the meeting; on the other hand, too much time spent on discussing procedures can alienate those present. Also, too much adherence to parliamentary procedures and restrictive rules may actually appear to citizens as an effort to prevent their participation.

Besides an impartial atmosphere, the moderator and others present should try to induce a friendly feeling. Officials should be open and encouraging in chatting with citizens. While too much joviality and lightness may be inappropriate, and may even undercut the serious intent of the meeting, some humor and informality will be appreciated.

Early in the meeting some information should be presented to be certain that both officials and citizens share a common base of knowledge. This may be a summary of progress to date with some citizen commentary, an audio-visual presentation, or handouts outlining proposals. The purpose of the meeting and an outline of the issues to be decided should be clearly expressed.

Care should be taken to record the deliberations of the meeting. This can be accomplished by taperecording, television-recording, verbatim recording by a court stenographer, or note-taking by one or several designated staff persons. Mandatory public hearings may require an official record; all meetings should have an accurate--if abbreviated--record of procedings. However, it may be considered too costly and of no great value to have recordings of all meetings, especially if these have to be meticulously transcribed.

Attention should be called to the recording of the meeting. Most citizens expect to have their words recorded and utilized. If officials simply sit passively and if no one seems to be listening or recording, citizens may think their input is being disregarded. A few people may be reluctant to have television cameras or other obtrusive devices present; therefore, the less disruptive devices are the best, and a court stenographer along with tape recorders seems the best solution for both accuracy and lack of interference. The moderator should state exactly how the input of citizens will be used subsequent to the meeting.

Some feedback and evaluation mechanisms should be used during the meeting to prepare for follow-up activities. Cards can be distributed for questions or comments; those who may be reluctant to speak out in public may make a valuable written contribution. Each person may be asked to evaluate the meeting: Was it worthwhile attending? What was learned? Was participation encouraged? Would you be interested in further information?. . . participation on a workshop or continuing small group?. . . personal discussion with an official?

Hopefully the meeting can arrive at some consensus or agreement on issues. If possible, a resolution may be adopted expressing the sense of the meeting. Such a resolution may give sanction to officials to proceed with plans, or it may suggest delay until after further study and public deliberation.

Examples of such resolutions are:

- The forty citizens of WHO neighborhood and three county supervisors agreed, after discussion, that the repaving of Bee Boulevard will be in next years' capital budget, i.e., in the 1978 capital budget.
- Thirty members of the AA Conservation group, the county commissioners, and State Park officials reached no agreement as to the disposition of the 100 acre Buzzard Swamp Natural Area, but they did agree that no activity of any kind will be allowed for the next

> 12 months. Activities prohibited include draining or damming the swamp, roadbuilding, construction of any kind, hiking, fishing, hunting, and birdwatching. No motorized vehicles will be allowed to use the area. County police have agreed to enforce this decision.

Finally, before the public meeting is concluded, the decisions reached should be specifically articulated. An action plan of what will be done next, who will be responsible for doing it, and when it should be done should be announced. That is, all participants in the meeting should know what to expect to happen next. Future meetings and any related activities should be announced at this time, also, as a supplement to the public relations effort.

4. Following-up the Meeting. Follow-up activities are important because otherwise it may appear to citizens that the meeting accomplished nothing. Actions may include: an analysis of the meeting, a report to citizens, a transmittal of results to agencies for further study or for action on resolutions, and personal letters to those who attended. A good summary of the meeting will be useful for subsequent meetings. By the time of the next gathering, some actions will have been taken on decisions made, and more reports can be made.

Officials, citizens, or the two groups together should meet shortly after the meeting to evaluate the meeting. The "follow-up" mechanisms plus minutes of the meeting should be available to help in the analysis. Questions should be asked, such as:

- Who attended? Were any groups unrepresented or underrepresented?
- What attitudes did citizens express?
- Were citizens generally pleased with results of the meeting?
- What issues were resolved? What issues still need resolution?
- What statements made or actions taken in the meeting were appropriate and conducive to participation?
- What actions were discouraging to further participation?
- What was learned that will affect the planning or conducting of future meetings?

A report should be made to citizens on the evaluation of the meeting which is communicated both to those present and also to some of those absent. In a small community all citizens might receive a report; in a larger community those on mailing lists or who have indicated interest might receive the report; or the media can be used to notify the community about the results of the meeting and its decisions. This report to citizens should be carefully prepared. Too much information may discourage many citizens from reading the report; too little information may lead to charges of withholding information.

Officials will want to transmit results of the meeting and specifically adopted resolutions to planners or other appropriate staff persons for further study or action. Certainly any community organization staff should utilize results for follow-up with citizens. A personal letter of thanks for attending may be sent by a mayor, or the convening agency, or by the community organization worker.

After a public hearing or officially-mandated meeting, officials should take action in line with their promises to citizens. Occasionally it may be politically or financially impossible to carry out the resolutions; in such cases citizens should be officially notified and the reasons for the change given. Perhaps another public meeting should be called if the issue is important enough.

Follow-up activities clearly contribute to the image of accountability of public officials. The citizen who has helped plan and organize a public meeting wants to know how citizen input was utilized and how this affected the results of the meeting. The recognition that everything was recorded and that officials will review the transcript suggests that the officials are doing their job. Awareness that this assembly was carefully evaluated and that future meetings may be improved in format, in participation, or in resolutions suggests accountability.

STUDY QUESTIONS

3. What are the four phases in planning public meetings?

STUDY QUESTIONS

4. Select one or two important points from each phase in planning public meetings and briefly present the importance of each in achieving citizen participation.

5. What atmosphere for public meetings should the moderator attempt to induce? Why?

6. What action should take place, if possible, in the last stages of all public meetings? Why?

7. Explain why follow-up activities are important?

D. MAXIMIZING CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

While public assemblies are scheduled to allow citizen participation, it is not unusual that the level of citizen involvement is low and that procedures are more perfunctory than meaningful. To get maximum input from all concerned, there are some guidelines which can be followed.

1. Citizens should be involved in the planning of all meetings. Citizens should participate at least in the organizing phase and, perferably, in the preplanning phase as well. They can have a role in determining issues of concern to citizens, types of invitations likely to achieve citizen response, guidance on the selection of the moderator, suggestions as to location, timing, agenda, and feedback mechanisms. Most important, if some citizens share in the planning, the meeting will seem more "their meeting" and not just an official requirement.

2. A citizens group or several groups should be encouraged to jointly sponsor the meeting. This will legitimately produce the impression that the meeting or hearing is also a "citizens' meeting" and not just an official requirement. It is essential that joint efforts be truly cooperative and not just a ploy.

3. If cooperation has been genuine and mutual trust has been established, a citizen rather than an official may be selected as moderator. Again the impression of joint endeavor can be fostered by such a selection. It must be remembered that many citizens are eminently qualified to lead meetings, discussions, programs; our definition of a "citizen" (Module 2) is a person who does not gain financially from the particular transaction or project being considered. An official, on the other hand, clearly does have some financial interests in the outcome of the meeting.

4. Throughout the meeting the moderator or others should emphasize the importance of citizen viewpoints. But simply saying this is not enough. The following guidelines may help.

- Be very careful not to shut off the desired citizen input; avoid statements such as: "But we know that already!" Rather, the moderator can say: "We'd rather hear something several times than miss an important point."
- Suggest the issues on which citizen input is desired; make statements like: "We want citizen opinions on the choice of option A or option B."
- Show how citizen input will be accepted and used: "If the citizens here tonight reflect option A, we will base our plans on that option."
- Reinforce the fact that notes are being taken and all suggestions are being recorded.

- Report on feedback mechanisms to show that citizen input will be used: "Each of you who makes a suggestion will hear from the agency how your suggestion was used."

5. At the conclusion of the meeting seek to bring about a resolution of views and, if possible, summarize the views and suggestions in a manner acceptable to all present. For example: "The citizens and officials present tonight agree that Option B is more acceptable than Option A and that the planners will try to adjust the time schedule to give families more time to relocate. Also the consensus of the meeting is that payments are too low . . ."

Note that throughout this discussion on maximizing citizen participation, an essential aspect has been ensuring two-way communication or "closing the feedback loop." It is not enough that public officials listen to ideas, suggestions, and proposals from citizens. If they are genuinely involved in a meaningful dialogue, communication must flow in two directions, and they must allow for continuous give and take. Accountability is dependent on this two-way process. Accountability may be enhanced by utilizing citizen participation in the planning and conducting of public assemblies, and follow-up activities are excellent vehicles for demonstrating this accountability.

STUDY QUESTION

8. List and explain five means of maximizing citizen participation in public meetings.

ASSIGNMENT

The following questions should be answered as completely as possible on separate paper. Two copies of your responses should be mailed to the instructor. One copy will be returned to you with the instructor's comments and the other will be retained as part of your course record.

Report on a public hearing, meeting, or forum which you have attended recently. If you have not attended such an assembly, locate a challenging one, attend, and report on it. Such meetings can be a city or municipal council hearing, a state legislative hearing, a meeting for citizens held by a regional planning agency, or a forum on some public issue. The meeting may be in your community or another. You may attend in an official capacity or as a citizen.

1. *Describe the assembly, giving some details of the setting, the attendance, your impression of the attitudes of the citizens, and other interesting facts.*
2. *Discuss the issues presented, the arguments pro and con, the expressed concerns of the audience, items of disagreement.*

Then, analyze in more depth your impressions of the meeting, delving into the following matters:

3. *Comment critically on the role of the public officials and their accountability. Were the officials open and clear in their presentations? Were they well prepared and knowledgable? Did they encourage participation and, if so, how? Did you feel that the officials were influenced by citizen presentations?*
4. *Comment critically on the performance of the citizens. Were they prepared? . . . helpful? . . . willing to participate? Or did the citizens appear hostile, unprepared, or totally unaware of the issues?*
5. *Was there evidence that the meeting had been carefully planned and organized? Was there some indication that citizens had cooperated in planning or sponsoring the meeting?*
6. *What specific mechanisms were used or statements made which suggested that citizen input would be utilized?*
7. *Overall, do you believe the hearing was one which favorably impressed citizens toward the accountability of the public officials? Why or why not? Explain.*

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adult Education Association of USA. Streamlining Parliamentary Procedure. Chicago, 1960.

The O.M. Collective. The Organizer's Manual. New York: Bantam Books, 1971.

Ross, Donald K. "How To Convene and Hold Citizen Hearings." A Public Citizen's Action Manual. New York: Grossman Publishers, 1973, pp. 179-184.

Thelen, Herbert. "Effective Meetings." Dynamics of Groups at Work. Chicago: Phoenix Books, 1963.

U.S. Army Engineer Institute for Water Resources. "Communicating with the Public: Obtaining Citizen Input." Public Involvement in the Corps of Engineers Planning Process. IWR Report 75-R4, October 1975, pp. 13-17.

PA 816
PUBLIC ACCOUNTABILITY

MODULE 9:
EVALUATING ACCOUNTABILITY, PARTICIPATION, AND DECENTRALIZATION

PREPARED

BY:

DR. CLIFFORD HAM

UNIVERSITY EXTERNAL STUDIES PROGRAM

Developed by the University External Studies Program and the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs, University of Pittsburgh. Under Contract to The Urban Management Curriculum Development Project, The National Training and Development Service, 5028 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20016. Funded by The Office of the Assistant Secretary for Policy Development and Research, U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development.

MODULE 9: EVALUATING ACCOUNTABILITY, PARTICIPATION, AND DECENTRALIZATION

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Title . . . . . Page

Key Terms and Concepts XII.9.1

Introduction XII.9.1

Objectives XII.9.3

Overview XII.9.4

Module Readings

A. The Need for Evaluation XII.9.5

B. Evaluation Measures XII.9.7

C. Applying Evaluation Measures XII.9.12

D. Benefits and Costs of Accountability XII.9.21

Module Assignment XII.9.26

Selected Bibliography XII.9.27

MODULE 9: EVALUATING ACCOUNTABILITY, PARTICIPATION, AND DECENTRALIZATION

KEY TERMS AND CONCEPTS

- Evaluation
- Evaluative Research
- Input
- Output
- Process
- Costs
- Benefits
- Benefit/Cost Analysis
- Cost/Effectiveness
- Performance
- Adequacy of Performance
- Impact
- Effectiveness
- Efficiency
- Indicators

INTRODUCTION

Evaluating activities such as citizen participation and decentralization is difficult; there are no widely-accepted techniques for judging the effectiveness of such programs. Accountability is even more difficult to evaluate with one possible exception: re-election (or failure to win re-election) may indicate a measure of accountability. But considering the many variables which may affect the outcome of an election, this one indicator may also be suspect.

Evaluative research is becoming more of a systematic and accepted discipline today. We shall relate some of the approaches of evaluative research to accountability and related aspects by (1) discussing evaluation in general terms, (2) applying some of these approaches, and (3) illustrating each with some examples.

Attention will be given to measuring impacts of participation and decentralization on accountability. But it must be remembered that more research and testing need to be performed before we will have reliable measures for these.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

Careful study of this module should enable the student to:

1. Explain the need for evaluation and the 'state of the art' today.
2. Define the key terms and concepts used in evaluative efforts.
3. Summarize methods of evaluation which can be used to evaluate accountability, citizen participation, and decentralization.
4. Relate methods of evaluation to appropriate measurements.
5. Compare the benefits and costs of policies, projects, or programs related to citizen participation, decentralization, and accountability.
6. Tell, in one's own words, why it may be inappropriate to analyze the costs and benefits of accountability.

OVERVIEW

Objectives	Tasks	Resources	Evaluation
1. Explain the need for evaluation and the "state of the art" today.	Study Questions 1, 2	Module Reading: A	Self
2. Define the Key Terms and Concepts used in evaluative efforts.	Study Questions 3, 5	Module Reading: B	Self
3. Summarize methods of evaluation which can be used to evaluate accountability, citizen participation, and decentralization.	Study Questions 3, 4, 5	Module Reading: B	Self
4. Relate methods of evaluation to appropriate measurements.	Study Questions 6, 7, 8 Module Assignment (A)	Module Reading: C Module Readings and Your Experience	Self INSTRUCTOR FEEDBACK
5. Compare the benefits and costs of policies, projects, or programs related to citizen participation, decentralization, and accountability.	Study Questions 9, 10 Module Assignment (B)	Module Reading: D Module Readings and Your Experience	Self INSTRUCTOR FEEDBACK
6. Tell, in one's own words, why it may be inappropriate to analyze the costs and benefits of "accountability."		Module Reading: D	Self

A. THE NEED FOR EVALUATION

Evaluation is a necessary part of the decision-making process. After planning, approving, and implementing, an official should test the results of programs; otherwise, useless programs may be carried on for years, while worthwhile projects are postponed because of lack of funds.

Furthermore, even within the same program or policy, there may be several ways of achieving the same objectives. It is necessary, therefore, to have some means of assessing which will work the best, which program is more efficient in terms of use of resources, and what programs are achievable given existing staff and other resources.

Evaluative efforts generally concern themselves with two major dimensions: effectiveness and efficiency. Effectiveness can mean, simply, getting the job done. It usually relates to achievement of objectives. A program is effective if it accomplishes the objectives for which it was created. Effectiveness, consequently, has little or no relationship to costs, but efficiency does.

Efficiency refers to the cost of getting a job done. This means that cost and effectiveness must both be considered in determining efficiency. For example, if a program fails to achieve its objectives (i.e., if it is not effective), then that program cannot be considered efficient even if the cost of the program is low. Or if several competing programs each succeed in achieving their objectives (which in this example are the same for each program), then the program with the lowest cost will be considered to be the most efficient because it uses fewer resources (costs) to accomplish the same results. Another way of referring to efficiency, as this discussion would suggest, is to call this dimension "cost/effectiveness" which similarly relates achievement to its cost.

Both concepts, effectiveness and efficiency, create some difficulties in certain circumstances. Sometimes effectiveness is hard to evaluate because a few objectives are met, others not reached,and a few partially attained. Similarly,efficiency is difficult to evaluate if different programs result in slightly different results, if objectives are only partly met, or if there is no similar program for comparison.

In the following section we shall look at evaluative measures. These are almost entirely effectiveness measures; that is, they test whether or not objectives are achieved; the costs are not considered.

The word "evaluation" implies a judgement or a personal testing as to the worthwhileness and desirability of a program, policy, or project. All of us are formally making judgements (evaluating) all the time as indicated by such statements as : this tastes delicious; that is a better buy; this machine is constructed more sturdily; it is warmer today. So evaluation means making a value judgement with little or no research or scientific backing.

When techniques of research are applied to evaluation, we call the process "evaluative research ." Increasingly more sophisticated procedures are being developed for "evaluative research," including statistical formulas, control groups, social experiments, and goal attainment measures. We shall be concerned in this module mainly with simpler, judgmental, analyses of effectiveness. Evaluative measures suggested here are non-statistical and, generally, not capable of detailed analysis. Hopefully, sometime in the future more objective, carefully-scaled measures may be developed.

STUDY QUESTIONS

1. Explain, in your own words the difference between evaluation and evaluative research; then give an example of each.

2. What are some difficulties an official might encounter in trying to measure the efficiency of a program?

B. EVALUATION MEASURES

Program and policies can be measured in different ways. Six approaches seem appropriate in looking at accountability, although exactly which approach is suitable for a particular effort may still have to be determined. Evaluation procedures should be agreed upon prior to the beginning of a program. Each of these six measures will be described briefly in this section and then applied to participation, decentralization, and accountability in the next section:

1. Input measures
2. Process measures
3. Output measures
4. Performance
5. Adequacy of performance
6. Impact measures

1. Input measures refer primarily to the amount of resources applied to a program; they give little evidence of results. There are situations when input can be easily measured but output or results are hard to measure. If a child wants a lollipop and we pay 25¢ for a big all-day sucker, the input is calculated in dollars. The satisfaction the child gets is difficult to measure although we can be relatively certain that the child is pleased. In other situations, input measures are not so validly used. In education, for example, teacher-pupil ratios, dollars budgeted for books, or capital investment in buildings cannot indicate whether children will be enabled to read, write, or solve arithmetic problems.

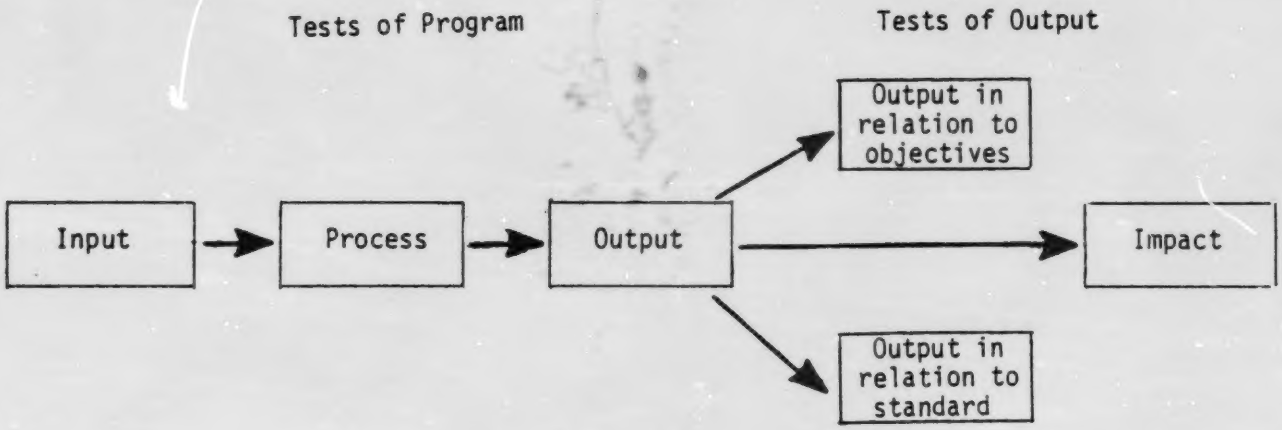
2. Process measures, similar to input measures, only indicate that all steps have been taken which should result in the desired effects. In our education example, it would be important that children be exposed to teachers, books, and classrooms, that they attend school regularly, and that accepted processes of teaching be undertaken. Again there is no guarantee that being involved in the teaching process will result in children learning to read. The difference, then, between input measures and process measures is that, while input measures focus on the resources made available, process measures are concerned with what is done with the resources.

3. Output measures do suggest results. They are direct measures of the effects of the program. For education, measures might be: grade level reading scores, reading abilities in words per minute, or comprehension test results. Indicators are not measures of output but figures which indirectly suggest output measures. Many social statistics are called "indicators" for, while they do not directly measure some quality of the situation, one can infer some social change from them. From the number (or percentage) of high school graduates we infer "education" and literacy. From the number of suicides we may judge the quality of life. Indicators, then, are a form of output measures but do not directly measure the attribute under examination.

The three measures or tests so far described--input, process, and output--focus on the process undertaken, the resources put into the program, and the results. We may call these three evaluative processes: tests of the program.

Next we will discuss three tests which focus on the output. We will judge the output by three tests: (1) does the output meet the objectives established for the process? (2) does the output meet certain standards? and (3) does the output have an impact? (i.e., does it make a difference?)

The relationship of these tests is shown in the figure 9-1.


Tests of Program
Tests of Output
Output in relation to objectives
Input
Process
Output
Impact
Output in relation to standard

The Relationship of Six Evaluation Measures
Figure 9-1

4. Performance measures relate output measures to pre-established objectives. Let us take the matter of reading scores. An output measure would provide simply the number and percentage of children reading at grade level, for example, 300 children or 75% of a school. But a pre-determined objective may have been 80% of the school population reading at grade level. Thus, this example suggests that performance has not been up to expectation.

Let us use one hypothetical example of performance in relation to citizen participation. A process of citizen involvement has commenced with appropriate input of staff resources, dollars, interest, and so forth. There is an output: citizens are attending meetings; some groups have formed. These output measures have reached the objectives established for the project. Still, the level of participation is insufficient to be meaningful and to accomplish changes in the plans and programs. We can say the performance is satisfactory, but still something is lacking. This leads to the next measure: adequacy of performance.

5. Adequacy of performance is similar to performance, but relates output measures to some universal or accepted standards. In the matter of reading scores discussed above, the standard is inherent in the measure since one can say that all children should be reading at grade level. On this basis, performance is below standard if only three out of four children are reading at grade level. The adequacy of performance is unsatisfactory.

In a more positive sense, the eradication of smallpox in the world demonstrates adequacy of performance in this project of public health. Similarly, efforts in eliminating polio seem to have reached an adequate level of performance. But failure to eliminate hunger in the world reveals less than adequate performance in feeding people or helping them become self-sustaining in food production.

Adequacy of performance tests outputs against an accepted standard and not simply against a project's objectives. Unfortunately, there are virtually no universal standards in the areas of citizen participation, decentralization or accountability.

6. Impact measures are extremely important because they suggest the difference that a program or policy actually makes. The impact of the so-called "Green Revolution" on world-wide hunger is being debated: in the same way, the impact of the War on Poverty will be questioned for years. The

question, then, is not whether there were positive output or performance measures but what changes these make in some social situation. Impact measures influence other social situations beyond the scope of the particular program. So a reduction in air pollution in a city may increase health, decrease absenteeism, reduce hospital admissions, and lead as well to increased traffic safety. Some of these may be intended results or impacts of an environmental program whenever others may be unexpected.

Impact remains a somewhat ambiguous term. We might define it further by talking of "the impact on society" or "the impact on the community." Some authorities may call this "goal-free evaluation," which considers the effects of a program which were not necessarily intended or were broader than the programmatic objectives. Certainly one must look beyond the stated goals to the larger effects upon a city or a society.

We have not specifically discussed subjective results. This refers to a type of evaluation which assesses the feelings of citizens toward a program. Without any specific measure, clients or citizens may judge a program to be "good" or to accomplish some worthwhile ends. This, frequently, is an "impact-type" evaluation. Many parents and other observers rated the "Head Start" programs as desirable even if careful studies and objective measure tended to show little positive benefits to children. The program has continued because of the "gut feelings" of those who participated. Strictly speaking feelings are not "measures," but they can add support for a program.

Together, all of these measures provide a variety of available means for testing policies or programs. We will now apply them, in turn, to citizen participation activities, decentralization efforts, and accountability.

3. Describe the six possible measures or approaches to evaluation.

4. Suggest one application of each of the six evaluation measures from your own experience or from other readings.

5. Match each of the measures on one side of the table below with the type of measurement on the other. (Some may fit in more than one category.) [An answer key is provided below.]

Measures	Type of Measurement
a. Dollars spent for public works	Impact
b. Reduction of traffic jams, an announced objective of the new mayor.	Input
c. Traffic control system in operation.	Process
d. Number of traffic police reduced after bus schedules expanded.	Adequacy of performance
e. Number of deaths reduced after strict enforcement program.	Performance
f. Average delay at rush hour reduced to 5 minutes; meets national standards.	Output
g. Goal of pollution decrease met after dial-a-ride begun.	
h. Dial-a-ride program begun.	
i. Staff assigned to traffic control.	

ANSWER KEY

5. a. input; b. performance; c. process; d. impact or output; e. output or impact; f. adequacy of performance; g. performance or impact; h. process; i. input.

C. APPLYING EVALUATION MEASURES

In this section we will suggest ways each of the six evaluation measures may be applied in turn to citizen participation, decentralization, and accountability. Within each area of citizen participation, decentralization, and accountability the context needed to consider the respective approaches will be briefly described. Possible categories representing each evaluation type will be listed. Bear in mind that the following instances are only examples to help explicate how evaluative measures may be selected and applied.

1. Citizen Participation

Here we will assume an official program, endorsed by the mayor and council, budgeted and operating with a paid staff in a community of 50,000 population. The basic goals of the program have been stated as providing, by a certain time:

- the awareness of all citizens of any city program which affects them or in which they may have interest;
- the opportunity for all citizens to communicate directly with city officials and to have response within a reasonable time;
- the opportunity for all citizens to influence proposed, planned, or organized programs at any stage in the process;
- the development of a stronger community identity, an enhanced concern for community affairs, and a greater sense of commitment to the community.

Very specific objectives adopted include the following:

- information will be delivered regularly at each home in the city, including an annual report and progress reports on neighborhood projects;
- direct participation of at least ten percent of all households in community or neighborhood assemblies will be achieved;
- feedback on proposed projects from at least one third of households affected will be obtained;
- meetings of city council in each neighborhood each year will be conducted.

a. Input measures

- number of paid community organization staff members
- total salary costs for staff
- number of dollars spent on communication materials
- total program cost for community organization
- hours of effort by officials devoted to public involvement
- number of public assemblies conducted

b. Process measures

- quality of personnel working in public involvement
- leadership development program
- plan for public involvement
- communication skills and interests
- official support for, and participation in, process
- appropriate techniques for meeting, motivating, guiding citizens
- well-planned meetings

c. Output measures

- attendance at workshops, seminars, meetings, forums, and hearings
- knowledge of programs on part of citizens (may be measured by surveys)
- attitudes of citizens (also measured by surveys)
- number of leaders enlisted, trained, mobilized
- number of staff visits to homes and other face-to-face contacts
- number of announcements in media relating to program and citizen involvement
- number and types of activities by citizens involved in public programs

d. Performance

- number of annual reports prepared and delivered to homes in community
- number of other relevant documents delivered to each home
- percent of population (or households) that attended at least one public assembly in a year
- percent of households which have communicated a response to project or proposal
- number of meetings of city council in different neighborhoods during one year

By comparing the figures from the items above with actual number of households, citizens, or neighborhods, the performance (or effectiveness) of the program may be ascertained. Remember, performance was defined as the output in relation to adopted objectives. If City Council held nine meetings in nine different neighborhoods, but there are twelve neighborhoods in the city, this would be a performance level of 75%.

e. Adequacy of Performance

- number and proportion of households represented in at least one public assembly during the year, compared with some accepted standards

For example, an impossible standard would be 100% participation. But 50% participation might be anticipated for a neighborhood meeting discussing a very controversial proposal.

Two standards for participation might be:

. 10% of households (or members) actually active or participating

. the square root of the number of households

The last measure, $\sqrt{N}$, seems to provide an excellent standard for citizen participation. The following figure shows how various standards work out in practice.

Figure 9-2

Selected Standards for Citizen Participation

(where N is number of members of a group, or number of households, or residents of a city.)

	STANDARD		
N	10%	$\sqrt{N}$	one-third
25	2-3	5	8
100	10	10	33
1000	100	32	333
10,000	1000	100	3,333

Note: As numbers increase, expected participation rises rapidly to unrealistic levels, except in the case of the square root. We know from experience that the larger the community or group, the smaller the proportion of numbers who will tend to participate actively. One activity organization has as its quorum for the annual business meeting: 2 x $\sqrt{\text{membership}}$.

Other measures (such as in d. Performance) are also appropriate measures for Adequancy of Performance if standards are available for comparison; for example,

- number of annual reports prepared and delivered to homes in the community.

In this case the standard is, presumably, the same as the adopted objective: every home. There seems no valid reason why an annual report would be delivered to some, half, or three-quarters of homes. So, if every home received an annual report, the adequacy of performance is the maximum. Note, this says nothing about the impact of the report. This, then, is the final measure.

f. Impact measures

- changes in plans, proposals, or operating procedures as observed by:

  case studies
  reports by officials
  panel evaluation
  citizen comments

- alterations in other social situations
- increase or other change in citizen communications to officials
- changes in citizen leadership (numbers, scope of concern, capability, etc.)
- change in quality of life in the community

2. Decentralization

In this section we will assume the same city of 50,000 but with an official program of administrative and political decentralization. The basic goals of the program are achieving by a specified date:

- a maximum of decentralization of the city work force into districts, with decisions being made in districts to the extent possible;
- decisions shared with citizens whenever possible;
- two-way communication between citizens and officials through complaint centers and district offices;
- a maximum of citizen-official contact.

Specific objectives adopted to carry out the goals of decentralization are:

- ten uniform service districts throughout the city will be established, i.e., one for each 5,000 citizens;
- complaint centers in each district office will be opened;
- one ombudsman will be available to each district office on a schedule but also on a request basis;
- all decisions relating to the delivery of neighborhood services will be made through the district offices;
- citizen advisory boards will be formed for each district.

a. Input measures

- council resolution establishing ten districts
- number of staff available for complaint centers
- number of staff assigned to organizing citizen advisory boards
- number of dollars available for district offices, complaint centers, and advisory boards

b. Process measures

- rules of procedure developed for complaint centers and ombudsman
- quality of staff in district offices: training, experience, personality, etc.
- accessible offices and available public officials to encourage citizen use
- two-way communication endorsed
- hours established for district offices and complaint centers convenient for citizens

c. Output measures

- number of district offices operating
- number of complaint centers open and staffed
- number of decisions regarding neighborhood services made locally
- number of meetings of citizen advisory boards
- number of face-to-face contacts between citizens and officials
- number of workshops, seminars, small group meetings held on decentralization in neighborhoods
- number of city employees in district offices
- number of complaints satisfactorily handled

d. Performance

The outputs listed above should be compared with the objectives adopted by the community. In addition, output measures showing the number and type of decisions made in district offices or by citizen advisory boards can be measured against the objective of maximum possible number of decisions localized. Also, the number and percentage of city workers assigned to district offices would give an excellent measure of decentralization.

e. Adequacy of Performance

Again, the output measures should be compared with accepted standards. Some such standards might be:

- number and type of services totally decentralized in district offices

- number of district offices per 1000 residents

- number of complaint center staff per 1000 residents

- number of citizens served by each citizens advisory board (CAB) (In Pittsburgh the ratio is 25,000 citizens/CAB, whereas in New York City the ratio is 250,000 citizens/CAB.)

f. Impact measure

- changes in costs for city services

- number of complaints or serious protests against the city or its services

- measures of alienation, changes in attitudes

- change in productivity levels of municipal employees

3. Accountability

Once again we will assume a community of 50,000 persons with a mayor and council vitally concerned with demonstrating accountability. The officials are pleased with the state's new Sunshine Law because it requires actions they have undertaken or espoused for years. The community is noted for its efficient government, and officials generally are re-elected, frequently with only token opposition.

The goals with the community has agreed to work toward include creating:

- a climate wherein citizens have as much right and access to information as officials;

- a decision-making setting where the citizens' views are considered as important as the staff or other views;

- a continuous two-way communication system with face-to-face contacts, small group meetings, and assemblies scheduled frequently.

a. Input measures

- amount and proportion of officials' time available to citizens

- amount and proportion of council's time open to citizen discussion

- number of community liaison positions funded

- budget for communicating information to citizens
- agenda for all council meetings available two weeks before convening
- community surveys taken frequently to ascertain citizen knowledge and attitudes

b. Process measures

- policies on communication are clearly expressed and published
- Sunshine Laws are promulgated; local versions passed unanimously by council
- number of public appearences by officials on TV, radio, and in newspaper interviews
- number of letters/telephone calls and the percentage of those which are answered
- number of staff meetings called to discuss and encourage responsive relations with citizens

c. Output measures

- number of meetings (small group, forums, public meetings, assemblies) held annually
- number of reports distributed to citizens
- number of households which received reports
- number and powers of citizen committees, task forces, and advisory boards
- number of citizens involved on committees, task forces, and advisory boards

d. Performance and e. Adequacy of Performance

Here the output measures should be compared with (1) objectives adopted by the community or (2) generally accepted standards. One of the best ways to develop standards would be to compare the output measures from this community with those of other communities. Similarly, one might compare the accountability of officials in a New England town-meeting government with the accountability performances of a midwestern township council or a Louisiana parish government. Again, there are not too many accepted standards for accountability in specific terms. One which the author feels essential is:

- an annual municipal report, in detail, distributed to each household.

f. Impact measures

- number of decisions which citizens make unilaterally
- number of decisions made by agencies with citizen input fully accepted
- number of decisions made with citizen input partly accepted
- number of decisions made with little or no citizen input
- number of disruptions, protests, strikes, demonstrations, or riots compared to former years
- measures of positive citizen attitude toward local government and support of officials
- re-election of government officials.

6. In each of the six applications of evaluative measures, we have suggested a few specific measures only for illustrative purposes. Add at least one more measure to each of the six categories under participation, decentralization, and accountability.

7. Re-election may be one indicator of accountability. Suggest some other factors which can account for an official's being re-elected . . .and not being re-elected.

8. In the examples we have assumed a community of 50,000 persons. Do you believe that the measures will change markedly if we consider a smaller community?...or a larger one? Explain

D. BENEFITS AND COSTS OF ACCOUNTABILITY

In the preceding section we examined six approaches to evaluation almost exclusively from the viewpoint of effectiveness. We asked: how can we determine whether certain programs and policies get the job done. We wanted to know if objectives were met, standards reached, and what impact resulted. In this section we discuss the benefits and costs of some relevant programs. This exercise focuses more on measures of efficiency than effectiveness. Programs will be compared on the basis of benefits and costs, not simply on the basis of whether they do the job.

When decisions are shared with citizens or decentralized to staff members, there will be observable benefits. We would expect, for example, fewer complaints or protests about government, possibly a more smoothly operating government, and greater satisfaction. While some benefits may be suggested, there may also be obstacles, problems, and a drain on resources. Government may not run more smoothly; in fact, a participatory government may engender more conflict, demand more decisions to be made, and require more conciliation. These we call "costs" from which it should be clear that we are not talking solely about costs in dollar terms. Costs include problems, obstacles, tensions, minunderstandings, and so on. Some other terms we might use instead of benefits and costs are: advantages and disadvantages; functional and dysfunctional consequences; plusses and minuses.

It is often difficult to state exactly what the advantages or disadvantages of a program or policy might be, and it is hardly any easier to declare that benefits exceed costs or vice versa. If everything could be put in terms of dollars and cents, comparisons would be simplified. But benefits and costs, as we are presenting them, may be in terms of social, emotional, political, or other results.

Below we suggest a few benefits and some costs of selected programs related to participation, decentralization, or accountability. This is a simplified "benefit/cost analysis." Officials may perform their own "benefit/cost analysis" mentally, but we suggest actually preparing a chart which lists benefits on one side, costs on the other. Such a chart at least begins the process of identifying direct and indirect impacts of a program.

Figure 9-3
Benefits and Costs of Neighborhood Complaint Centers

Benefits	Costs
Citizens can complain directly to a city official, rather than grumble about problems.	More complaints are received; more expenditures are required; some requested expenditures may be unbudgeted.
Citizens may point out major problems earlier than the administration would have discovered them.	Subordinates object to handling complaints; complaints break routine, making it difficult to plan ahead.
The mayor and other officials can judge attitudes of citizens from the number and type of complaints.	Government may not be able to handle all the complaints.
The opportunities for feedback from citizens to government and vice versa are increased.	The administrator is faced with additional units to oversee and the need for more coordination.
Good public relations are achieved.	

In the same fashion, we can examine the benefits to officials of a program of citizen participation and contrast them with some of the disadvantages. The program selected, as an example, is a citizens' advisory board which is given the power to veto proposals of government officials.

Figure 9-4

Benefits and Costs of a Citizens' Advisory Board with Veto Powers

Benefits	Costs
Citizens as well as staff help contribute ideas, shape programs.	Staff time is spent in organizing, meeting with citizens.
Citizens provide a "check and balance" on government proposals.	Delay is caused in implementing projects--one more hurdle to cross!
Discussions are held in relatively small groups, not exposed to total public.	Divided responsibility may cause less "efficient" government.
Citizens act as sounding board for ideas.	There is a lack of involvement of all citizens.
Citizens contribute time, ideas, enthusiasm, etc. and will subsequentely support the program.	Citizens may not see needs as officials do.
	Citizens board may not be properly representative of the community.

Finally, we will sketch a few costs and benefits of accountability in general terms. Regardless of the costs or disadvantages of accountability, we state categorically that accountability is an essential aspect of democratic government. Responsiveness and responsibility are required of officials. Therefore, in this sense, it is inappropriate to discuss costs and benefits of public accountability. Still, as suggested below in Figure 9-5, there are some disadvantages as well as advantages in public accountability.

Figure 9-5

Benefits and Costs of Accountability

Benefits	Costs
More general satisfaction in the community, less alienation.	Actual dollar costs may increase for community liaison staff, additional communication efforts, and increased staff.
Fits ideal picture of local government more neatly than a closed, autocratic system.	More skills needed in local government.
More likelihood of re-election of incumbents.	Additional time of officials is required, and they are already overburdened.
Less likelihood of drastic turnovers in municipal government.	Small errors tend to be exaggerated, especially by the media.
Positions will be attractive to possible employees who desire an open, responsive government.	Some employees object to working under public scrutiny.
	It is difficult to plan and program activities if all operations are subject to review by citizens.

9. Develop a benefit cost analysis of your own for either:

   a. District Service Center.
   b. Community Advisory Boards in each district of the city.

10. Select a project or program in which you are interested, and prepare a benefit/cost analysis for it. Remember, costs mean more than dollar costs.

ASSIGNMENT

The following questions should be answered as completely as possible on separate paper. Two copies of your responses should be mailed to the instructor. One copy will be returned to you with the instructor's comments and the other will be retained as part of your course record.

a. *Select some program or project which has aspects of citizen participation or decentralization. This should be some program or project you know fairly well, perhaps from your own community.*

Using the six categories of evaluative measures discussed in this module, suggest means of evaluating your selected program or project. You should be able to suggest at least two (but preferably more) measures in each category which enable a careful, objective evaluation.

Your answer, then will propose several specific measures for each of the following categories:

Input Measures
Process Measures
Output Measures
Performance
Adequacy of Performance
Impact Measures

b. *Submit your benefit/cost chart for either Study Question 9 or 10 (page X11.9.25) in this module as your answers for this part of the Assignment.*

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aleshire, Robert A. "Planning and Citizen Participation: Costs, Benefits, and Approaches," Urban Affairs Quarterly. June 1970, pp. 369-393.

Herbert, Adam. "Management Under Conditions of Decentralization and Citizen Participation." Public Administration Review. Special Issue, October 1972, pp. 622-637. (See Module 10.)

Ragan, James F., Jr. Public Participation in Water Resources Planning: An Evaluation of the Program of 15 Corps of Engineer Districts. U.S. Army Engineer Institute for Water Resources. IWR Report 75-6, November 1975.

Suchman, Edward A. Evaluation Research. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1967. (This is a classic work in the area of evaluation.)

The Urban League. Toward Effective Citizen Participation in Urban Renewal. A Final Report of the National Urban League, Urban Renewal Demonstration Project, n. d. (circa 1974)

Weiss, Robert, and Rein, Martin. "The Evaluation of Broad Aim Programs in Evaluating Action Programs," pp. 236-249. Carol Weiss, ed. Rockleigh, NJ: Allyn and Bacon, 1972.

PA 816
PUBLIC ACCOUNTABILITY

MODULE 10:
ADMINISTERING FOR ACCOUNTABILITY

PREPARED

BY:

DR. CLIFFORD HAM

UNIVERSITY EXTERNAL STUDIES PROGRAM

Developed by the University External Studies Program and the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs, University of Pittsburgh. Under Contract to The Urban Management Curriculum Development Project, The National Training and Development Service, 5028 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20016. Funded by The Office of the Assistant Secretary for Policy Development and Research, U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development.

MODULE 10: ADMINISTERING FOR ACCOUNTABILITY

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Title | Page

Key Terms and Concepts XII.10.1

Introduction XII.10.1

Learning Objectives XII.10.2

Overview XII.10.3

Module Readings

- A. Governance XII.10.4
- B. Intragovernmental Relations XII.10.7
- C. Citizen/Government Relations XII.10.10
- D. Management Under Conditions of Decentralization and Citizen Participation XII.10.16

Footnotes XII.10.35

Final Module and Course Assignment XII.10.36

Selected Bibliography XII.10.38

MODULE 10: ADMINISTERING FOR ACCOUNTABILITY

KEY TERMS AND CONCEPTS

- Citizen/Government Relations
- Intragovernmental Relations
- Requisites

INTRODUCTION

This module discusses some principles of administration related to citizen participation and decentralization. In no way is it an attempt to discuss administration in broad, general terms. We will look at some of the particular considerations which an administrator must understand when emphasizing decentralization and citizen involvement.

These considerations will focus on three aspects of administrative problems. First, there are requirements of the governmental unit itself which should be met--matters such as recruiting and training employees to be sensitive to issues of citizen participation. Second, decentralization procedures will require more complex intragovernmental relationships. If the local government is not the only functioning unit on the municipal level and district or neighborhood offices exist with decision-making responsibilities, more coordinated and complex decisions are required. Third, some decisions must be made in conjunction with citizens and not by officials alone. A whole network of administrative relationships must be developed which comes to conclusions about: How much weight will be given to citizen input as compared with other inputs, such as costs, planning recommendations, etc.

The concluding article by Adam Herbert discusses some of these issues and also stresses the need for more training of administrators who are sensitive to citizen needs and demands.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

When you have completed the readings and assignments for this module, you should be able to:

1. List and explain some of the requisites that government itself must have in order to undertake programs of decentralization and citizen participation.
2. Describe at least three problems which are likely to emerge in a decentralized municipal government.
3. Summarize several of the issues which will face administrators when they embark upon a citizen participation effort.
4. Explain the six suggested ways of extending to citizen groups or neighborhood units of government some power in decision making.
5. Explain the several areas of needed emphasis in public affairs education to enable administrators to work effectively in conditions of decentralization and participation.

OVERVIEW

Objectives	Tasks	Resources	Evaluation
1. List and explain some of the requisites that government itself must have in order to undertake programs of decentralization and citizen participation.	Study Questions 1, 2, 3, 9	Module Readings: A, C	Self
2. Describe at least three problems which are likely to emerge in a decentralized municipal government.	Study Questions 4,5	Module Reading: B	Self
3. Summarize several of the issues which will face administrators when they embark upon a citizen participation effort.	Study Questions 6,7	Module Reading: C	Self
4. Explain the six suggested ways of extending to citizen groups or neighborhood units of government some power in decision making.	Study Question 8	Module Reading: C	Self
5. Explain the several areas of needed emphasis in public affairs education to enable administrators to work effectively in conditions of decentralization and participation.	Study Questions 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14 FINAL MODULE ASSIGNMENT	Module Reading: D Module Readings Your Experience	Self Instructor Feedback

A. GOVERNANCE

It should be apparent that the governmental official who wants to be accountable and to practice some elements of citizen participation and decentralization cannot simply accept government as is and just begin involving citizens. Some preparation must take place, and this is essential if the aims of the official are to be realized and if accountability is to be achieved.

The first requisite is that the official be desirous of achieving a modicum of participation and/or decentralization. The effort cannot be simply a public relations effort or a half-hearted attempt to meet federal or other requirements. This will quickly be recognized for what it is: a sham. Many well-meaning officials continue to believe that citizens are to be served but not consulted. Yet, as we have seen earlier, citizens are increasingly expecting to be involved in decisions affecting their lives. Furthermore, federal (and state, as well) legislation is mandating more public involvement. An accountable official, too, recognizes that top-down decisions are not always as effective or as acceptable as decisions reached after consultation with the affected parties. Some government agencies, in fact, have reached an impasse: no more highways, dams, or other projects will be built unless solid citizen support is developed. For these reasons, the official is well-advised to seek meaningful citizen involvement.

The next requisite is determining the amount of effort to be devoted to citizen participation and/or decentralization. While both are desirable, there is a limit to how much time, how many resources, and how much personal effort can be devoted to involving citizens. The answer, in part, is: enough effort and resources must be expanded which will allow the job to get done and done well. If a program is halted or threatened because of citizen opposition, as, for example, a proposed nuclear power plant, the official would have to plan an extensive program of citizen involvement to achieve even a chance of implementation. The municipal government which has earned the respect of residents may need fairly little additional effort to maintain its citizen cooperation.

One way to determine whether citizens believe that adequate effort is being directed toward involving them is to conduct an opinion survey. This may be accomplished by officials polling selected citizens informally or by distributing a more formal questionnaire and carefully analyzing the results. Such surveys should give indications as to citizen attitudes, their satisfaction with participation levels, or their desire for increased involvement. Care must be taken to sample all parts of the community and, especially, groups which may be more critical of government. A more complete evaluation of the participation effort would use some of the measures and techniques suggested in Module 9.

A third extremely important requisite for achieving accountability is the recruiting, training, and supervision of employees who meet the public. Even if top officials want participatory government, other employees can thwart this desire. A discourteous telephone operator, a surly clerk, an overzealous policeman, or a loafing worker can quickly destroy the good image a mayor has established. In other words, the desire to establish a good working relationship among officials and citizens must extend all along the line. There must be no weak links in the chain of cooperation.

Recruiting procedures should give preference to outgoing and friendly applicants for employment. Training, before and on the job, should stress the need for courtesy and for cooperation with citizens. Supervisors should always stress the concept that employees are working with and for the residents. Discourteous employees should be urged to establish better relations with the public, shifted to non-visible positions, or, if need be, reprimanded or demoted.

The fourth and last requisite for accountable officials that we will consider is establishing an evaluative mechanism for ascertaining the impact or effectiveness of programs which are undertaken. Despite the best intentions, an official can spend time and other resources on non-productive or even counter-productive efforts. If a neighborhood service center is to be established, some measure of its activity should be set before the center is opened. Later, officials can judge whether the center is meeting their objectives. Even if the center fails to meet some criteria, it may serve other needs. An underutilized center with employees killing time should be phased out or replanned with different objectives.

Certainly there are other requisites for an effective program of decentralization and participation. We have discussed a few that seem important. Perhaps you have other ideas about the prerequisites for an accountability program.

STUDY QUESTIONS

1. Why does the first requisite for accountability, that the official be desirous of achieving a modicum of participation and/or decentralization, seem so important? Do you agree?

2. What other requisites are necessary to achieve conditions of participation and decentralization?

3. What training programs or elements can you suggest to sensitize public employees to the need to deal courteously and cooperatively with citizens? (There are no suggestions in the reading) Do you consider this sensitizing essential? Why or why not?

TABLE 10-1

Decisions Which Might be Made on a Neighborhood or Small Community Basis

Library	- Location and schedule for a bookmobile - Kinds of materials desired in local branch or bookmobile - Schedule of hours for a local branch library - Additional services which the library could offer the community
Education	- Services and after-hour programs the local elementary school might offer the community - Cooperative recreation programs - Arrangements for school lunch programs - Enrichment programs (trips, speakers, etc.)
Parks and Recreation	- Location of local play area or tot-lot - Hours of recreation services - Types of recreation programs offered - Special community events, such as folk festivals, fairs, sports contests
Refuse	- Hours of trash collection - Number of collections per week or month - Recycling services - Selection of contractor (if private service)
Police	- Additional services desired - Type of patrol (foot, squad car, etc.) - Local traffic control - Police-community relations - Means of crime control
Zoning and Planning	- Services of a locally-assigned inspector - Location of a complaint center - Community bulletin board for hearing notices - Services of the community planner - Goals and planning concepts for the local area

B. INTRAGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS

The decentralization of municipal government to district or neighborhood areas adds another level of government. This should not be seen as strictly a horizontal layer below the municipal layer. Rather, it should be viewed more like another flavor of cake, making a "marble cake" design. In any case, with the addition of other units of government there are more needs for communications, for coordination, and for division of responsibility. Some of these areas of concern or needs are suggested here.

One major problem for governmental officials is determining how to supervise district offices or other decentralized offices. What basis should determine responsibility: the geographic basis or the functional basis? For example, if a district official is to be responsible for an area, that official normally could have jurisdiction over the other staff in the office. Yet each of these has functional relationships with counterparts in the centralized office. Thus, the water personnel in the district would be more likely to relate to the department of water works rather than the district chief. Similar relationships exist for planners, traffic or police officials, recreation workers, and others. There is a delicate problem in assigning responsibility and ensuring coverage at the same time.

Another related issue must be addressed: what decisions can be made at the district or neighborhood office and which ones should be made at the city-wide level. Some decisions are clearly city-wide. Decisions such as water supply, civil service, waste disposal policies, and police training belong on a wide-area basis. Some services have metropolitan-wide implications; these include transit, sewage treatment, airport, and probably health and welfare provisions. But many services can be decentralized to the local level, and decisions can be made there. We suggest that these may include: recreation programs, trash collection, tree planting, some traffic control, and, possibly, limited police services. Note that Table 10-1 indicates services which can be managed by neighborhoods or small communities.

One way of achieving decentralization and encouraging decision-making at the local level is to appropriate to each community some discretionary funds each year. Basic city services could continue to be provided on a uniform basis across the city. The local area can then decide whether it wants to spend the optional funds on new trees and landscaping, purchase of a tot-lot, more frequent garbage collection, or other services. Other means are suggested further on in the module.

Another similar method resembles the Community Development program. Funds are available on a municipal basis, but neighborhoods are urged to apply for money for special projects. In a sense each neighborhood competes with all others and with city-wide interests for a share of the resources. In this case, final decisions are made by the City Council, not by neighborhoods.

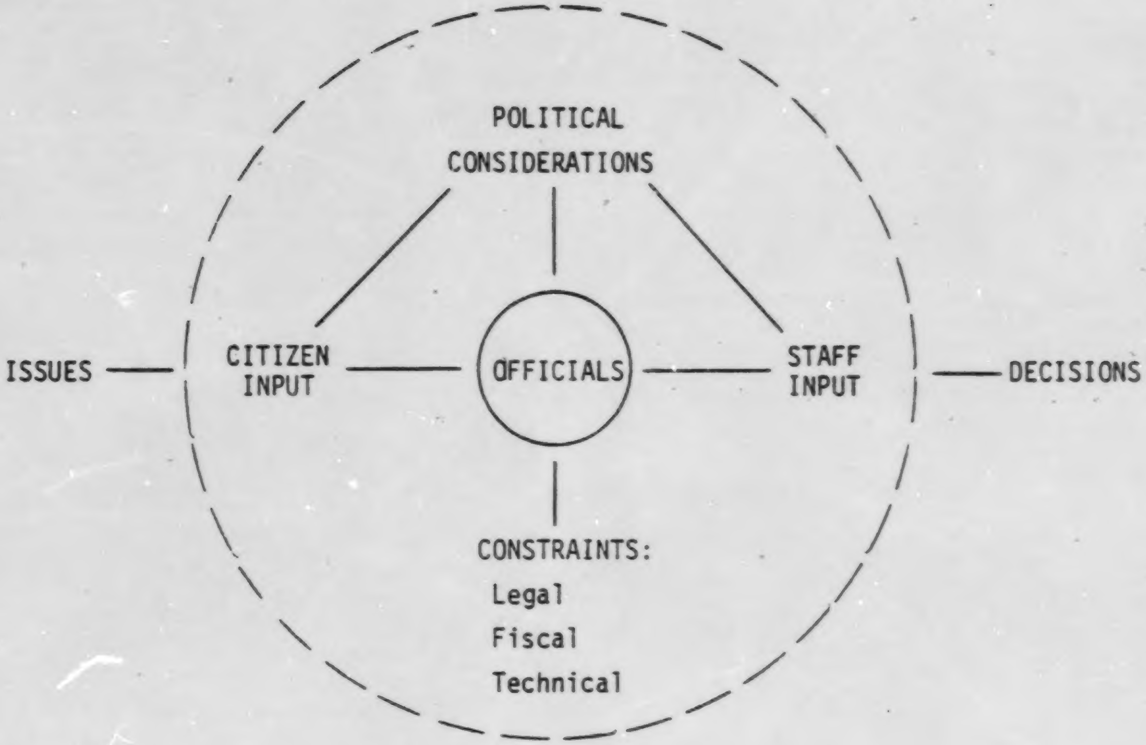

POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS
ISSUES
CITIZEN INPUT
OFFICIALS
STAFF INPUT
DECISIONS
CONSTRAINTS:
Legal
Fiscal
Technical

FIGURE 10-1
The Decision-Making Nexus

- *How much weight can the citizens' position be given?*
- *What other forces must be considered?*
- *How do officials balance conflicting demands?*
- *Can all the forces be satisfied?*

A third way in which decision-making powers are clearly within the province of the neighborhood is to incorporate each local area as a "community corporation." The corporation can then raise runds and spend them on projects of its own selection. The community corporation may also contract with the city to provide certain services for agreed-upon fees.

But even given the preceding suggestions for decentralizing some decision-making responsibilities, the issue of which decisions can and cannot or should and should not be decentralized remains a difficult one with no clear-cut solution. Some of these decision-making powers can be negotiated when and if citizens' organizations reach a position of strength. The municipal government may desire to delegate other powers to local organizations. Even though the central government has consulted citizens and received input from decentralized offices it, may reserve many decisions to itself remain and still reamin fully accountable to the electorate.

Another problem which will vex administrators is how to achieve inter-unit cooperation when units of government have proliferated and when more of these have decision-making powers. As each unit--or group of citizens--attains some power, it will want to retain this power and control. The tendency may be toward autonomy and non-cooperation. It should be made as clear as possible that decentralization can only work through cooperative efforts. The astute administrator will encourage cooperation among communities as far as possible, always seeking to avoid the temptation to make decisions centrally and unilaterally or to place neighborhoods on a competitive basis.

One more problem faced by officials is determining which neighborhoods or districts can have decentralized offices, planning officials, or service centers. Obviously each small area cannot have its own "little city hall." Too few district offices keep government removed from the people; too many offices will exhaust municipal resources. Generally in large cities, areas with 25,000 to 100,000 population are considered appropriate for district service centers or community boards. In smaller communities, districts of 5,000 to 10,000 residents may be appropriate. Smaller units than these may be established for liaison but not for decentralized offices or full-time staffs.

4. What are the several problems or issues which face administrators when they decentralize the administration of a municipality?

5. Rank the problems presented (Study Question 4) in order of decreasing difficulty; i.e., place the toughest issue on top of your list. Explain why you ranked the problems in that order.

C. CITIZEN/GOVERNMENT RELATIONS

The relationships between officials and citizens must be examined. If citizens can be ignored, then these relationships hardly exist. But if the electorate is to be involved beyond voting, then good working relations must be maintained. There are several issues that officials--probably with citizen input--must decide. The specific issues which will be dealt with here are: (1) when should citizens be involved in decisions or how much can be decided before citizens are consulted; (2) how much weight should be placed on citizen input; (3) what rights and responsibilities can be delegated to citizens; and (4) how can an official know which groups really represent citizens.

1. When should citizens be involved in decisions or how much should administrators accomplish before opening up the process to the electorate? Obviously if too much has been decided before issues are presented to citizens, their participation is mere tokenism. They may have a veto power, but sometimes it is too late even to say "No" to a project. Clearly, participation should start early.

Actually, if a continuous process of participation has been established, this issue of timing may not arise. Citizens will have been consulted in all aspects of planning; they will have helped suggest problems, agreed upon goals and objectives, and assisted in outlining alternatives. A viable and meaningful program of participation makes this issue practically irrelevant. The citizens are involved all the time.

2. How much weight is to be placed on citizen input? There are, obviously, other inputs to be considered in making a decision or implementing a project. These other inputs will include (but are not limited to): costs and budgetary restraints; technical considerations (i.e., what the citizens want may not be technically possible); input from other political groups (special interests, the opposing party, another faction, or an adjoining community); staff input (i.e., the planners and other employees who also have recommendations and also may be considering problems of implementation or subsequent operating procedures); and legal restrictions. Note, however, that some of these inputs are actually "citizen contributions."

If there are objective reasons why a citizens' proposal is unacceptable, this fact should be clearly communicated to those concerned and should be a sufficient response. Thus, proposals which would encounter legal restrictions, budget overruns, or technical impossibilities can be eliminated from consideration. Otherwise the process becomes strictly a political decision-making process. The hoped-for solution is a compromise and a consensus. Barring that possibility, officials must decide on the basis of political "costs and benefits." The official who honestly seeks a high degree of citizen input and participation will grant the citizens' position a fairly high status in the decision-making. (See Figure 10-1.)

Adam Herbert, in his article "Management Under Conditions of Decentralization and Citizen Participation," states:

> The greatest challenge to public administrators operating within a participatory environment will be identifying and balancing citizen needs and demands against the potentially conflicting demands and socio-economic needs of public employees, elected officials, and administrative superiors.[1]

It is this need to balance and decide conflicting demands which may be the greatest difficulty for public officials. Yet, this is what the political process really is. Finding optimum--or even satisfactory--solutions to these demands can offer the greatest challenge and reward to public officials.

3. Another issue for administrators is dividing responsibilities with citizens. What are "official" responsibilities and which can be delegated to citizens? What kinds of decisions can be assigned, contracted for, or relinquished to neighborhood groups? . . .interest groups? . . . or coalitions? On the one hand, it is easy to say that citizens have ultimate authority anyway and, therefore, should have the right to help make decisions. The counter to that argument is simply that, as the population has grown, government has developed and an effective system of governing has evolved. To return to citizen control would be anarchy and could lead to complete breakdown of governance. The answer clearly lies somewhere in the middle.

There should be some decisions and some roles for citizens in the governing process. The following are several approaches[2] to cooperative decision-making with a strong role for citizens or local units.

- Double-veto power. Here the local unit can either veto proposals affecting its jurisdiction, or, in turn, the municipality can veto local decisions which seem contrary to policies, city-wide concerns, or other considerations.
- Delegation with guidelines. The local group of citizens has considerable power to make decisions but within the context of a framework of guidelines, policies, or standards established by government, hopefully with citizen input. Within these parameters the local unit has considerable power.
- Delegation under supervision. This is similar to delegation with guidelines, but the policies are not clearly enunciated. The local unit makes decisions but these may be countermanded (or vetoed) by the municipality. This might be called: "The single-veto power."

- Local involvement in municipal decisions. While decisions are being made, representatives of the local unit participate, express opinions, and may even have a vote. This is analogous to the City Council having representatives elected from each neighborhood rather than at-large.
- Local decisions with municipal involvement. Here the local unit makes decisions but has representation from the municipality in the process. The policies and desires of the whole community must be considered when the local unit makes decisions. Such a representative might be the community planner assigned to the district or the head of the district service office.
- Budgetary control. The municipality has appropriated for the use of a local unit a predetermined amount of funds or other resources. The local unit then decides unilaterally how these resources can be utilized, but it cannot exceed the budget and must account for its expenditures.

4. A similar problem is the recognition by government of the various citizens' groups which claim to represent the population. Which group really represents the voters? If a group clearly is not representative of a total community yet does espouse a clear concern (say, for conservation), how can its views be melded with those of the dominant group? And if the municipality itself is organizing the citizens, what are appropriate geographic boundaries or common concerns? These questions can only be raised here; an accountable official may want to do some careful research or consult with trained community organizers for guidance.

In summary, we return to the earlier statement in the module that "the official (should) be desirous of achieving a modicum of participation and/or decentralization." So much rests upon the administrator or elected public official! The official or administrator should appreciate the changing role of citizens in government. Officials should be skilled in group dynamics. They must be good communicators. They must be able to handle conflict and yet arrive at sound political decisions. They must be able to function in situations which are in flux, uncertain, and difficult. Administrators can no longer sit at the top of the pyramid and make decisions which are followed without challenge.

Still, officials with the ability to surmount these challenges, with the composure and skills to work with citizens, and with the willingness to decentralize will realize effective solutions to pressing human problems.

They will seek and find solutions which satisfy more citizens. They will find answers beyond the technical, efficient, easy ways. Ultimately, these officials will be leading the way toward new forms of governance which are more responsive to citizens, more oriented to human values, and more likely to be accepted.

6. Do you believe it is accurate to state that "if a continuous process of participation has been established, (the) issue of timing will not arise"? Why or why not?

7. Draw a figure similar to Figure 10-1 showing the various inputs into a decision-making process. If you can be more specific and illustrate a particular case, this will be even more helpful.

8. List the six ways suggested for giving citizens some role in the deciding process. Explain each briefly. Can you suggest others?

9. What is re-emphasized as the most important aspect in establishing participation and decentralization.

D. MANAGEMENT UNDER CONDITIONS OF DECENTRALIZATION AND CITIZEN PARTICIPATION.

The following article by Adam Herbert (reprinted with permission from *__Public Administration Review,__* *October 1972, pp. 622-637) raises many questions about administration in a changing social and political climate and calls for new directions in the education of public administrators. Mr. Herbert, who is currently working in the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, received his Ph.D from the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs at the University of Pittsburgh.*

Management Under Conditions of Decentralization and Citizen Participation

Adam W. Herbert, *Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University*

During the past decade, there has been a significant increase in demands and proposals for greater governmental decentralization and more citizen involvement in the making and execution of public policy. Advocates of one aspect or another of these proposals can be found among a myriad of groups and individuals ranging from the White House, several congressional leaders and presidential contenders, to black power and separatist groups, conservative white organizations, a number of intellectuals, and such professional organizations as the Social Welfare Workers Movement and Teachers for Community Control. In the face of such diverse and apparently expanding support, the potential for implementation of some form of more formalized citizen participation in the public policy-making process can no longer be ignored either by public administrators or the professional schools which train them; nor can the administrative implications of this involvement be ignored.

Clearly, it is difficult to predict precisely the actual roles citizens will play, or the ultimate extent to which they may become involved in the public policy-making process. Nevertheless, the potential administrative challenges which would accompany varying degrees of citizen participation and administrative decentralization should be addressed. An effort must be made to anticipate some of the problems, potentials, options, and benefits which may be presented to public administrators with the movement toward greater citizen involvement in the administrative processes of government. This essay seeks to identify and examine some potential consequences of expanded citizen participation in public policy making and explore the significance of these new directions for schools of public affairs.

As the title indicates, the focus of this analysis is on *administrative* decentralization and citizen participation. Administrative decentralization generally refers to the delegation of authority from higher to lower levels within an organization (11). Clearly, decentralization neither assumes nor implies participation. However, governments can decentralize to facilitate such participation. Indeed, as Hallman suggests, governments decentralize for two reasons: (a) to achieve greater efficiency; or (b) to achieve better relationships with citizens (16, p. 8). The concern here is with decentralization in the latter sense. Specifically, using Eisinger's conception of control sharing, reference is made to the managerial implications of decentralization of "municipal service agencies in which the authority to make policy decisions about service levels and general administrative standards is shared among professional bureaucrats, elected officials, and citizen representatives of geographical neighborhoods or particular client groups" (78, p. 38). This orientation is most clearly shown when one considers the four possible levels of decentralization identified by Hallman: (1) total central control over neighborhood program decision making; (2) control mixed, central dominant; (3) control mixed, neighborhood dominant; and (4) total effective control at neighborhood level (16, p. 21). The focus of this essay essentially is on the second and third administrative levels as described above. The decision to focus on the second and third levels is based on the value judgment that a switch from the primary, contemporary public service delivery system—Level 1, or Schmandt's Exchange Model (125)—is necessary, and the belief, that the implementation of step four is too distant in most cities with populations above 50,000 to be the direct subject of our immediate concern.

A listing of recent literature which should be useful to public administrators in understanding the citizen participation phenomenon and related issues has been developed. While several references are not mentioned in the essay, for curriculum development purposes, they have been cited to provide a useful take-off point in implementing some of the teaching orientations mentioned herein and in studying the participation process in greater depth. No attempt has been made herein to review or summarize the many arguments offered throughout the literature in support of the concept of citizen participation; this has been done very effectively elsewhere in the symposium. This essay works the premise that the expansion of such involvement in public policy making is essential, if not inevitable, and an attempt has been made to assess the implications of that stance from a management perspective. The primary arguments around which the essay is built are:

- Citizen participation in the administrative aspects of public affairs may be essential to offset the feelings of helplessness, frustration, powerlessness, and bitterness which are becoming increasingly evident in the United States (2) (9) (10) (19) (27) (45) (52) (57).
- If adequate responses are to be made to rapidly expanding societal needs, traditional management values and beliefs regarding efficiency and the need for hierarchy must be challenged.
- While efficiency must remain as an important variable in determining governmental policies, it is now necessary to define efficiency in such a way as to more fully incorporate *citizen* perceptions of program effectiveness.
- The personal and professional discomforts which expanded citizen participation may create for public administrators, government employees, and citizen participants themselves are necessary costs to pay in the quest for more effective and responsive government.
- The greatest challenge to public administrators operating within a participatory environment will be identifying and balancing citizen needs and demands against the potentially conflicting demands and socio-emotional needs of public employees, elected officials, and administrative superiors.
- Schools of public affairs should begin immediately to make those changes necessary to assure that their curricula are producing graduates able to operate within participatory environments.

Perspectives on American Society and Bureaucracy

In a democratic nation, debates over the practicality and utility of citizen participation in public policy making at first glance would appear unnecessary. For it is clear that many citizens—interest groups and individuals—have consistently been participants in the American governmental process at all levels (40). Major administrative appointees and prospective commission members, for example, are frequently reviewed by many of the groups whose interests or well-being they might affect while serving in those positions. Moreover, the advice of selected interest groups and individuals (including consultants) is on occasion sought in the development of programs or operating procedures, and in the establishment of new governmental regulatory provisions. Public hearings also are called from time to time so that citizens can voice their reactions to, or criticisms of, governmental activities.

These forms of participation, or others like them, only serve to cloud the participation issue. They do not tell who the individual and group participants are; or who is not allowed to participate. They do not reflect the restraints placed on involvement, nor do they suggest the pervasiveness or actual extent to which these inputs are sought. Indeed, while some might argue that citizen participation is an established feature of public administration in both theory and practice; in fact participative democracy as related to public beaucratic operations has been systematically and consistently avoided (53), except where cooperation or interest-group support was essential to advance the best interests of the particular agency (48). In very few cases have public administrators willingly accepted the concept that citizens should be given a meaningful voice in the administrative activities of government.

Historically, the emphasis on citizen participation in political and legislative, as opposed to administrative, affairs is evident. Initially, the nation was controlled in virtually all respects by an oligarchy of wealthy property owners. This control gradually was eroded as the principle of "government by the common man" was successfully implemented at the national, state, and local levels. Simultaneously, the struggle over expansion of the franchise to other than white, male property owners was won and has continued into the 1970's. Also of particular importance historically was the move to increase citizen participation in the legislative process of government through the use of the initiative, referendum, recall, and the long ballot. The citizen was thus able both to make and repeal laws; to elect most public officials and to impeach them.

In the minds of many governmental reformers beginning in the late 1800's and extending into the 1940's, this extensive citizen involvement in governmental affairs led to machine politics, inefficiency, and special-interst-oriented government (essentially immigrants and lower-income urban dwellers). The reaction to these "deficiencies" came in the form of efforts to strengthen the chief executive, shorten the ballot, require merit promotions and appointment through objective examinations, reduce the number of elected officials, and broaden the emphasis on efficiency in governmental operations (12) (61). The rationale for these "reforms" appeared to be that, only through a shift to governmental forms or procedures which provided an opportunity for "public-regarding" citizens to manage the affairs of government could the maintenance of efficient government be assured (60). Ironically, few questioned the fact that these changes actually served the best interests of the "public-regarding" citizens who wrested governmental control from those political machines which catered to the supposedly "private-regarding" lower-income urban dweller (62).

Since the implementation of these administrative and political "reforms", administrators have become further isolated from formal citizen involvement in their activities (31), except where involvement in some form was deemed to be in the administrator's interest. Professionalism has assumed a level of prominence which now rivals the public interest (8). The professional *knows* what is in the citizen's best interest. His training and experience, coupled with new management technologies and analytical techniques, provide him with the insight and a perspective which supposedly transcend particular group interests in the search for the "common good" (22). As a result, there is no need, so we are told, to *allow* uninformed, self-interest-oriented, short-sighted citizens to become obstacles to the successful and efficient functioning of government. When citizens vote they have experienced the level of participation referred to in the phrase, "government by the people"; when citizens are otherwise *needed* they will be called.

The current push for citizen participation in the administrative affairs of government consequently must be regarded as a major departure from traditional conceptions of the *proper* role of citizens in the governmental process (53). While we have, as indicated above, accepted the notion that elected officials and governmental programs should be subject to public scrutiny and approval, the administrator has been excused from such accountability. The significance of the participation movement may be that it represents an attempt to close the circle of governmental responsiveness. It embraces the notion that, like elected officials and public programs generally, professional administrators are no longer to be above the voice and demands of the people. It represents an effort to balance more evenly administrative efficiency and expertise with the feelings, desires, and perceived needs of citizens as public programs are executed.

Public Administration: An Assessment of Ideology and Direction

In a recent issue of *Public Administration Review*, Thomas W. Fletcher, then city manager of San Jose, California, observed that:

> Citizen participation is here to stay. We must recognize that what this means is that we must share from now on the important decisions we make as they affect the lives of all the people who live in our community. And once we realistically approach this problem and prove to the citizens and to ourselves that we are serious, the confrontations which are a natural beginning to this process will be eliminated (163, p. 16).

While such a management orientation now seems particularly appropriate, it is significant that many professional administrators continue to hold steadfastly to more traditional theories of administrative organization and bureaucratic practice. These traditional theories, which emphasize what Redford has labeled "overhead democracy" (34), are based on four essential concepts: (a) *integration* — units of administration should be linked in a single line of responsibility leading upward to the chief executive; (b) *hierarchy* — responsibility would be enforced through power exercised through successive levels of organization, each controlling the level immediately below it; (c) *legality* – rules made at top levels in the hierarchy should guide the action of men at all subordinate levels; and (d) *political supremacy* – administration should be subordinate to political direction and supervision exercised through law and hierarchical oversight (34, p. 71).

This characterization of public bureaucratic operations omits many of the nuisances of governmental operations such as described by Pfiffner and Sherwood in their "overlays" concept (36, pp. 16-32). Nevertheless, it does identify much of the conventional wisdom which continues to guide the thinking of a vast number of administrators. In particular it emphasizes the principles that: (a) policy should be established at the top of hierarchical institutional arrangement and transmitted downward; and (b) administrators are subordinate to elected officials who have the responsibility of establishing policy. A third principle of considerable import, though not identified explicitly above, is the necessity of bureaucratic adherence to standards of efficiency, neutrality, and economy while providing public services.

Although such conventional wisdom has been challenged by several writers in the business administration area–McGregor (110), Argyris (65), Likert (104), and Bennis (3)–public administrators generally have not been impressed by arguments of the critics of hierarchy and efficiency (29). For example, Wilcox has contended that:

> Participative thinkers reject the traditional measures of effectiveness, economy, and efficiency, as irrelevant to the evaluation of organizations. They regard attainment of the desired values in interpersonal relationships as the only pertinent measure. But it is the relative effectiveness of organizations in conventional terms and in input-output ratios which strongly influences the quality of a society's response to the challenges of change (59, p. 62).

While such a stance can be utilized as a temporary refuge from the reality that major administrative changes toward expanded participation are badly needed, and perhaps inevitable, it misses the arguments actually being made by participative thinkers.

The advocates of participative administration are well aware of the need for efficiency and administrative leadership in bureaucratic operations, and do not object to them per se. What they are encouraging is more humanistic management and a more accurate and realistic definition of efficiency and organizational purpose (3). They are troubled by the fact that efficiency has been used as a screen behind which administrators often refuse to deal with major problems or consider the human implications of their policies. White illustrates this point with his example that, "if the client appears to require more resources or 'input' for treatment than the solution of his case represents as a unit of organization 'output' he simply would not be treated. To treat him would be 'inefficient' " (58, p. 36). The participative thinkers are saying that efficiency must be defined not only in terms of output by "neutral" executives, but also by employee and clientele perceptions of both needs and output. Because this has not been done in the past, the relative effectiveness of many public agencies in social areas has been so poor that corrective measures, such as citizen participation, are now being called for with great urgency (46).

The New Public Administration

The most articulate opponents of the traditionally authoritarian ideology of public administration is a group within the profession who have begun to challenge these values under the label, "New Public Administration" (146) (157). They argue that "present social stresses suggest the need for a 'mid-course correction' in public administration norms, a correction designed to enhance the capacity of government to meet the needs of *all* citizens. Social equity is the needed mid-course correction, primarily because inequity is one of the most critical social, economic, and political characteristics of our time" (141, p. 2).

Frederickson (141, p. 3) has identified the following requisites as being the essential ingredients of the equity ethic:

- the recognition that administrative value neutrality is improbable, perhaps impossible, and certainly not desirable;
- a public service is a general public good which generally can be well or badly done;
- however well or badly done, generally provided public services vary in their impact on recipients;
- variations in the impact of public services tend to mirror social, economic, and political status; that is, higher quality services go to those with higher status;

- the public administrator is morally obligated to counter this tendency;
- equity in the delivery of services, so far as it is calculable, should be one of the standards by which the "goodness" of a public service is judged;
- variations from equity always should be in the direction of providing more and better services to those in lower social, economic, and political circumstances; and
- the isolation of administrators and public agencies from either political or administrative responsibility is not equity enhancing.

Contrasting this proposed management ethic with the traditional administrative norms described earlier, it is clear that the two are in conflict with regard to the role of the administrator within a public agency. The most notable differences are that the New Public Administration: (a) does not emphasize efficiency as an administrative goal which transcends the social and psychological consequences of public activities; (b) urges public administrators to assume political stances where necessary to assure that social equity is being achieved in their programs; and (c) urges that administrators accept the impossibility of being value neutral in the performance of their jobs. In short, the administrator is viewed as a change agent who works essentially to assure "the reduction of economic, social and psychic suffering and the enhancement of life opportunities for those inside and outside the organization" (145, p. 32).

The reactions of professional administrators to these proposals have varied widely. In a recent symposium issue of *Public Management* (157), some city managers voiced strong support for the approach advocated by the New PA group. Others objected strongly to the proposed value and operational changes, arguing that New Public Administration: (1) assumes that public administrators have more power to bring about change than they really do; (2) is too theoretical in its approach; (3) is too idealistic; (4) is asking administrators to violate the "rule of law"; (5) is proposing value changes which, if followed, would lead to serious conflicts among various citizen groups; and (6) is proposing changes in administrative practices which could lead to something "resembling anarchy."

Regardless of validity, if a substantial number of administrators subscribe to these arguments against the New Public Administration stance, the potential for implementation of the equity ingredients (and hence more responsive government) suggested by Frederickson will be very slim in the short run. Indeed, without a shift toward increased citizen participation, judgments must be pessimistic regarding the possibility of winning large numbers of professional administrators to the equity struggle. To most, the costs of acceptance will appear to be too high. That is, the *personal* rewards to be derived from professionally advocating such a course of action probably will not equal the perceived potential costs. This is especially true if managers relate employment threats to a commitment to the equity orientation, as was done in the aforementioned *Public Management* symposium. We must be realistic about the fact that few people today are willing to pursue any course of action they feel will place their jobs in jeopardy.

Moreover, it is important to realize that many administrators have been so deeply steeped in the traditions of classical administrative thought that they will be very slow to reject the values of traditional public administration (46). They will find it very difficult to accept/acknowledge the proposition that the administrator is involved in the political sphere, or that he should actually commit himself to the concept of equity (redistribution) without established public policy commitments in that direction.

In spite of this pessimistic assessment, a growing number of public administrators would not find it difficult to acknowledge the need for more responsive government and greater social quality. There is a desire within the public management profession to serve the public interest, although few administrators are "proactive" in the sense described by Harmon (18), and many do not define societal needs in the way the New Public Administration group has done. With the right combination of personal concern, support, and forceful demands, bureaucrats can become effective change agents in the quest for government which is more responsive to the needs of *all* citizens. The challenge is that of eliciting this reorientation in attitudes, values, and practice. Decentralization and citizen participation currently offer the best hope for creating the political and administrative momentum necessary to achieve the goals of both equity and increased governmental responsiveness, while simultaneously addressing the societal conditions and human needs mentioned earlier in this essay.

Managerial Implications of Decentralization – Citizen Participation

Given the pervasiveness of traditional administrative values and perspectives, and the reservations which the words "citizen participation" tend to evoke among professional administrators, it now seems essential that some effort be made to place the concept of decentralization-citizen participation into a more realistic organizational perspective. While the discussion below may not alter traditional administrative biases, it will indicate that the difficulties and challenges which greater citizen participation will present to public administrators do not by definition mean chaos or inefficiency.

There are several possible approaches which might appropriately be used to identify the managerial implications of decentralization as defined herein. Hallman, for example, has focused on budgeting, personnel, purchasing, and program operating policy (16). Frederickson has suggested a much broader set of evaluation categories for such analyses. The categories he proposes are: (a) distributive process, (b) integrative process, (c) boundary-exchange process, and (d) socio-emotional process (14). For our purposes, three broad headings will be utilized. Borrowing from Frederickson, the socio-emotional, boundary-exchange, and integrative processes will be reviewed. Except where otherwise indicated, reference is made to the field-level manager, i.e., to the administrator closest to the firing line of day-to-day operations and hence most affected in his activities by the consequences of expanded citizen involvement.

It should be noted that some of the projected trends, difficulties, benefits, and challenges offered below are essentially speculative, while others are based on specific experiences at the community level in the areas of education and community action programs. In addition, several recent evaluations have dealt specifically with varying aspects of governmental responsiveness or citizen participation from a management perspective, and were of some aid in the formulation of these projections (16) (20) (29) (30) (42) (44) (54) (63) (93) (94) (100) (103) (106) (125) (153). Several managerial implications of citizen participation were also found in evaluations of specific decentralization experiences in the field of education (85) (88) (89) (91) (96) (126) (134) (156). Because of the conflict which surrounded the Community Action Program, and the levels of participation actually achieved in many cities, some evaluations of the results of CAPs have also been helpful (77) (100) (114) (116) (117) (119) (129) (135).

Socio-Emotional Process

The effects of citizen participation upon the employees within a public agency must be given consideration in weighing the managerial consequences of such involvement. The socio-emotional process refers to the nature of interpersonal relationships—conflict, openness, trust, and cooperation—within the organization, with an emphasis on both the individual and the group. It is in this area that field administrators probably will encounter some of their most perplexing problems. The following projections suggest major administrative difficulties and problems associated with decentralization, citizen participation, and neighborhood control:

—may lead to major conflicts between professionals and citizens over program directions and implementation;

—may lead to a greater emphasis on employee unionism to offset these conflicts—i.e., maximize the position of the employee in any conflict situation;

—may discourage openness within the organization because employees perceive citizen involvement as a threat to them personally;

—may may lead to internal divisiveness as employees line up in groups which are either in favor of or in opposition to working with citizens in the quest for more responsive government;

—may lead to feelings of paranoia among some employees because of the feeling that both citizens and administrators are "looking over their shoulders" (professional as opposed to personal perspective mentioned above;

—may discourage some people from seeking public employment because of the pressures which citizens might apply to them;

—may lead to an increase in the number of employees who leave the public service because of the pressures which decentralization (as used herein) would carry with it.

On the other hand, it is possible to project the following administrative benefits deriving from decentralization:

—may minimize the importance of peer (professional group) accountability;

—may encourage more citizen-committed persons to seek public service employment;

- may make public service employment more exciting and challenging for those who now regard it as routine, boring, and lifeless;
- may stimulate among employees a greater understanding of, appreciation for, and sense of commitment to more effectively addressing the human needs to which government is responding or should be attempting to respond;
- may open communication channels between employees because of the necessity of common effort and commitment to tasks as they are defined.

The strong opposition of teachers to school decentralization in New York (see Marilyn Gittell, herein) suggests one potential administrative challenge and employee reaction to decentralization efforts which allow citizens to "encroach" upon the forbidden terrain of the professional (135) (89) (96) (87) (122). Citizens in many cases will demand changes in existing governmental operations and values, some of which run counter to what professionals perceive to be in their best interest. As Roberts indicated in his study of the school decentralization effort in New York, "Theories of teacher selection, qualification, tenure, methods, and curriculum—indeed the entire professional ideology is being challenged" (122, p. 117). Professionals in the city found these challenges threatening and thus the concept of decentralization totally unacceptable. The administrator may be caught in the middle of this type of struggle, particularly where there is an apparent conflict between citizen needs or desires and employee demands related to the maintenance or enhancement of their positions within the organization or agency. The balancing act may be difficult, but the task is a necessary one if the quality and equity of public services are to increase, while the socio-emotional needs of employees are also being addressed.

Because some public employees will perceive citizen participation to be both a personal and professional threat, they can also be expected to accept the notion that the only sure way to protect their rights is through union membership. The clear expectation will be that through numbers their rights, prerogatives, and powers will be maintained. The administrative implications of public unionism have been a subject of considerable concern in the profession and its literature, and need not be discussed here (164) (165). It is important to realize that this increased unionism will result in greater efforts to reinforce the demands and needs of employees, not citizens. As a result, the executive must become more conscious of the need for a "public interest" orientation, and be willing to fight for it over the bargaining table. The greatest administrative challenge accompanying decentralization-citizen participation in the socio-emotional process area thus appears to be balancing citizen needs with employee demands.

Integrative Process

The integrative process refers to the means by which the work of persons in a publicly administered organization is coordinated, i.e., the management of the internal operations of a governmental agency. It is on this area that most opponents of participatory administration have focused their attention, primarily because of their strong desires for "efficient" internal management operations. While some of the difficulties mentioned below may indeed reduce internal efficiency, the critical question to be considered is whether the loss in efficiency is made up by the benefits gained both in terms of internal operations and service output. It can be projected that major administrative difficulties and problems of the following type will result from decentralization:

- may work against efficiency as traditionally defined, i.e., it may slow down the decision-making process and complicate the implementation process;
- may result in the decentralization of some decision making, while leaving power at the top, thus limiting the options available to the field executive in carrying out his duties;
- could could lead to conflict between the central and field offices over administrative standards and operating procedures, particularly as administrators close to the people begin to develop policies which will more effectively meet their needs;
- may lead to administrative chaos and confusion over organizational goals and direction;
- may create a state of confusion regarding the chain of command within public agencies;
- may be difficult to convince top-level administrators to adopt a hands-off policy toward governmental operations at the field or neighborhood level;
- requires that the field administrator serve two or three bosses—the central office, citizens,

and perhaps a central staff specialist.

Decentralization could, however, result in the following administrative benefits:

- may lead to development of common purpose and direction, e.g., an orientation to something as general as equity, or as specific as a particular governmental program;
- may lead to new methods of evaluating services which more fully incorporate both management objectives and clientele perceptions and desires;
- may enable management to respond more effectively to challenges peculiar to a particular governmental subdivision (neighborhood);
- may assist agencies in developing more effective programs, and offering services more effectively because of the opportunity for immediate feedback;
- may lead to some cost savings because citizens can assist by pointing out needless programs, wasteful projects, and more feasible options given specific community characteristics.

The problems outlined above suggest several administrative challenges in the integrative process area. One of the most significant would be serving several bosses simultaneously. The field manager will be placed in a situation where he must respond both the the wishes (demands) of citizens and the central administration. In most decentralized governmental situations it must be expected that field managers will not hold their primary feelings of allegiance to the neighborhood (124). Because the central administration makes promotion and salary decisions, it must be expected that particular attention will always be addressed to the wishes of higher-level management. At the same time, however, decentralization will suggest to citizens that they are going to have a greater voice in the administrative process. If citizens perceive that the field-level manager is a puppet for higher-level administrators, or that he cannot perform without higher-level approval on many policy questions, or that he does not feel a sense of responsibility to the community, his credibility and utility in the neighborhood will be short-lived. Thus, the challenge for the field administration is that of balancing allegiance to the central administration with a sense of responsibility to the neighborhood. The task of keeping both groups content will in many cases be quite difficult.

Also of importance is the fact that employees will have demands to make of the administrator. He thus must be able to deal with two external masters who will constantly be making demands of him, while internally employees also will have expectations and needs that must be addressed. This added factor would make it even more difficult for the field administrator to be loyal to citzens, particularly in light of the employee biases and orientations discussed in the previous section.

Another challenge is the need for an administrator who will be able to offer direction for bureaucratic activities at the neighborhood level. In spite of the conflicting and numerous demands being made of him, as well as the time lags which may delay decision making, the administrator must provide leadership in keeping field operation moving smoothly. He must be able to pull out of occasional chaos workable plans that will be acceptable to citizens, employees, and administrative superiors. He must be able to work with citizens in the effort to stay within the time constraints confronting all organizations. This need for administrative leadership and organizing ability is especially crucial and must not be underemphasized if governmental subdivisions are to show any evidence of efforts to achieve reasonably efficient operations. Because efficiency of necessity would be defined in somewhat different terms than at present, this reality in effect can be interpreted to mean that administrators must be able to show that given the delays which might be expected with an increase in the number of persons who must be involved in the decision-making and execution processes, the most efficient methods of operating are being used.

Of potential managerial significance is the degree to which the field administrator can convince the central administration that he should be given a high amount of flexibility in decision making. Where the central administration does not give the administrator at the field level a great deal of latitude to run his program, his job will be all the more difficult. While it may be especially trying in some cases to convince headquarters to maintain a reasonable hands-off policy, administrators at the neighborhood level must seek to get some assurance of wide latitude in addressing the day-to-day problems which confront them. If this freedom is not provided, the field administrator probably will find it impossible to respond to the types of challenges presented in a crisis environment, and, of greater importance, it will be difficult for him to make the rapid decisions administrators must be able to make as problems arise.

Another significant challenge to public administrators in terms of the integrative process will be balancing traditional forms of such management functions as personnel and budgeting with potentially conflicting neighborhood challenges to these procedures. It must be expected that efforts to conduct business "as usual" in public agencies increasingly will be challenged as citizens become more involved in administrative activities. In the personnel area, for example, demands that traditional civil service criteria for public employment be reevaluated and possibly altered to increase job opportunities for greater cross-sections of people, and particularly for neighborhood residents, will almost certainly be heard (20) (42). Also, arguments will probably be offered for revised "merit" standards which do not have the effect of perpetuating economic, racial, and sexual discrimination in the public service. In particular, community residents will no doubt place greater emphasis on local governments hiring substantially more street-level bureaucrats—teachers, policemen—from the communities being served (103). Governmental jurisdictions and their administrators must be prepared to respond to these demands for modified personnel requirements and policies which may serve to maximize governmental responsiveness and "need assessment capabilities" as a result of greater employment of indigenous community residents. Equally challenging will be the opportunity of working closely with individuals who are keenly aware of community problems, and are strongly committed to addressing these needs on a priority basis.

Along similar lines, decentralization will also provide greater opportunities for citizens and local neighborhood boards, in particular, to scrutinize and make more forceful inputs into the governmental budgetary process. It should be expected that this opportunity for expanded citizen participation will ultimately lead to demands for new measures of program productivity and/or effectiveness. Administrators will be challenged in many instances to justify expenditures in terms of the benefits received by residents of the neighborhood, and perhaps the methods used in service delivery. Thus, as budgetary decision-making responsibilities are decentralized to the field administrator, he will be placed in the potentially controversial and perhaps tenuous position of personally challenging central administration policies and programs in the quest for more responsive government at the neighborhood level.

In sum, success in carrying out the integrative function in a decentralized setting will probably be a product of: (a) the leadership abilities of the field administrator, (b) the degree of autonomy given to field administrators to make policy and operating decisions, (c) the degree of emphasis placed on the traditional notion of efficiency by the central administration in assessing field operations, (d) the ability of management to convince citizens that field executives and employees feel a sense of responsibility to them as well as to the central administration, and (e) the ability of the administrator to resolve conflicts between "traditional" management practices and neighborhood demands for modifications in those activities and related policies.

Boundary-Exchange Process

The boundary-exchange process refers to the general relationship between the publicly administered organization and its reference groups and clients, including legislatures, elected executives, auxiliary staff organizations, individual citizens, organized interest groups, and other levels of government (14). Within the context of this essay, an assessment of the boundary-exchange process would demand a particular focus on management-clientele relations, management-elected official activities, and on general societal effects of the decentralization move. Major administrative difficulties and problems connected with boundary-exchange in a decentralized setting include:

—may force administrators to take political stances which conflict with those of elected officials because of citizen pressures;

—may lead to greater infighting among local cliques and competitive groups over policy directions;

—may result in power being placed in the hands of a few citizens who could tyrannize the many;

—will subject the field administrator to an increased amount of political pressure from the neighborhood;

—will create a more controversial environment in which to work;

—may create tenuous job situations because of the controversial positions administrators may be required to take;

—will present many unpredictable administrative situations with which many practicing administrators have neither academic training, social background, or experience to deal;

- may force the administrator to become involved in community controversies which will later hurt him regardless of the position taken;
- may lead to increased conflict between elected officials and administrators over policy decisions and implementation practices.

But decentralization could induce the following administrative benefits in the boundary-exchange process:

- provide closer physical proximity to the people being served;
- can strengthen the administrator's position with superiors and elected officials because of clear community support;
- may provide administrators with an opportunity to become major social change agents;
- may lead to closer working relationships, as well as a greater mutual understanding and feeling of respect between administrators and citizens;
- provide opportunities for administrators and employees to see more clearly, and "feel" the impact of their efforts to improve the quality of life for citizens in their neighborhoods;
- may lead to a reversal of citizen attitudes regarding the lack of governmental responsiveness to their needs;
- may lead to a reduction of many feelings of hostility and frustration currently evident among low-income groups in particular;
- may erase many of the misconceptions public employees have about the "average" citizen, and particularly those in lower socioeconomic groups;
- may help to erase the elitist attitudes held by some public servants.

The first major administrative challenge which appears in the boundary-exchange area is operating a public agency within an ambiguous and potentially frustrating environment. The administrator in a decentralized setting has tremendous opportunities to work closely with citizens and to see the products of his more creative efforts, as well as failures. His relationships with the citizenry can help him as he seeks support for his neighborhood programs from the central administration or from elected officials. At the same time, it is clear that citizens could object to his policies and become antagonists who vigorously fight him over matters large and small. If the administrator does not have a tremendous feel for his community, if he does not understand the motives of citizens who approach him (their hidden agenda), if he does not have a sense of perspective regarding power conflicts within the neighborhood, and if he does not have a sense of timing to maximize his efforts and minimize opposition, decentralization would prove very frustrating. The challenge is that of learning the dynamics of the neighborhood so that he (the administrator) can work effectively with citizens to more effectively meet their needs.

To some administrators, becoming more political in a decentralized setting will be especially challenging. Administrators traditionally have attempted to avoid the spotlight in carrying out their functions, and have been especially anxious to avoid conflict whenever possible. Citizen participation will make this more difficult. It will become harder to pass the buck to avoid making difficult decisions. Such proximity to the citizen will carry with it responsibilities to make decisions daily which could lead to controversy. It will force the administrator on occasion to assume political positions that he otherwise would not, primarily for survival reasons. The challenge will be that of accepting the inevitable and becoming an effective politician; one who will on occasion be forced to take strong political stances in the public interest. The right of elected officials to make policy would not be questioned, but the administrator may be required to more vigorously work to convince these officials (directly or indirectly) of the importance of the programs he advocates.

Essential Managerial Skills

The problems and challenges mentioned above suggest the need for several managerial skills that seem essential for effective administration in a decentralized governmental operation which elicits citizen participation. The most important of these skills are:

1. An ability to operate effectively in conflict situations. The administrator must possess bargaining skills such that he can deal with both citizens and employees when conflict arises, and he must possess skills of negotiation which enable him to work with elected officials and central staff personnel in resolving conflict once it arises or is anticipated.

2. The administrator must be very familiar with group dynamics. This means an ability to understand why and how groups are created and die; what they are attempting to accomplish; and how one might best work with them.

3. The administrator must be able to understand the feelings, demands, frustrations, and hopes of those citizens with whom he works. Frequently this may mean relating to persons with totally different economic and racial characteristics, as well as values.

4. The administrator must be able to work in a setting where he is accountable to several bosses, and of greater significance, where the desires of those bosses may conflict.

5. The administrator must be able to work in very tenuous, highly uncertain work situations where clear-cut solutions are difficult to define and environmental conditions are constantly changing.

6. The administrator must be willing to accept the inevitability and perhaps desirability of greater mobility within the profession. Just as city managers tend to move every three to five years, so should many field administrators as conditions in their communities change and/or as their personal interests or needs change. Some of the strains which accompany this type of employment also may demand such mobility.

7. The administrator must become more astute politically. He must realize that he does make political decisions and, in a sense, shares the policy-making function with elected officials. His proximity to the citizenry may, in fact, place him much closer to the people than many of their elected representatives. This ultimately will force administrators to become more political than many would probably prefer.

8. The administrator must be an extremely effective communicator, able to relate his feelings up and down bureaucratic lines, to citizens and to elected officials. He must at the same time be a good "listener" who can pull from the multitudinous data he receives the information essential to carrying out this administrative task effectively.

9. The administrator must be able to shed the aloof, elitist image that many citizens hold of professional administrators.

Although proficiency in these areas will not guarantee success while operating within a participative administrative setting, it is a critical addition both to work experience and to fundamental understanding of basic management concepts. It must be emphasized, however, that skills, like technologies, can be used for good or evil purposes. The pertinence of these skills ultimately depends upon the administrator's philosophy and related sense of ethics. The critical question which we in the profession must address is whether our public administration programs are attempting to assist both students and practitioners in developing these management skills along with a philosophical frame of reference built around fundamental democratic principles.

Implications for Schools of Public Administration

Citizen participation in public affairs carries particular significance for schools of public administration. The administrative skills suggested above as being essential to effective management within a decentralized administrative system also carry implications for public administration education. There follows a discussion of emphases which can be considered for inclusion in the management curricula of each of the policy areas considered in this special issue (law enforcement, education, social services, health) as well as for general public administration programs. These areas of emphasis in turn suggest techniques which might aid students in developing the aforementioned complement of administrative skills.

While it is difficult to make any comprehensive listing of the many phenomena our professional programs should emphasize, those discussed below seem to be of special significance within the decentralization framework as developed herein. It is proposed that public administration programs should place greater emphasis on human interaction, experiences, capabilities, and processes, and rely less on rules, authority procedure. Specifically this implies placing greater emphasis on the development of communication skills with professionals and nonprofessionals, including information on how more effectively to initiate and sustain communication with citizens. To accomplish this, the utilization of gaming and stimulation exercises will be important. Equally important will be the provision of opportunities for small group interaction on research projects, policy formulation sessions, and problem-solving exercises.

Administrators will likely have to begin to deal more explicitly with major value questions and issues that are clearly related to human needs and the provision of public services. Workshop and field experiences which require assessing not how and to whom services are distributed, but how people feel about their services will be increasingly common. However useful it was in its time, students must do more than read cases and write papers describing value implications for the actors in these cases. And it is important to deal explicitly with the decentralization-citizen participation question in seminar settings; examining implications, challenges, innovations, and experiences in the field.

Students of education administration need to devote more attention to the analysis of important and *controversial* public policy questions. It is essential to give students a background in the analysis process and to equip them to deal with controversy before they are on the firing line. This suggests placing greater emphasis on in-depth policy analysis which demands that students devote attention to issue formulation, the identification of policy options, implications and possible consequences of the alternatives identified.

It is important to provide students with opportunities to work in conflict situations. Various forms of socio-emotional training (sensitivity training, organization development, etc.) are useful here. It is also helpful to provide assignments (perhaps in the workshop fashion used by planners and architects) which allow students to conduct major field projects demanding interaction with citizens, bureaucrats, and elected officials, and which include a presentation of findings before critics.

Future education for public administration will likely place greater emphasis on student awareness of the social, psychological, and economic realities of urban life, and on the interrelated nature of these factors. These can then be related to the specific professional areas in which the student is to work. Field experiences are essential to broaden the background of students in the area of urban social problems and human needs.

It will probably be necessary to give greater attention to employee-management relationships to assist new administrators in more effectively addressing the socio-emotional needs of public employees.

Public affairs education, in short, must become more action, value, and policy oriented if it is to prepare students adequately to operate within participatory environments. The importance of familiarity with fundamental management concepts must not be minimized, but these fundamentals no longer can be the sole emphasis. Schools of public affairs are usually not well equipped to teach values, but such schools can no longer avoid discussing values and demanding that students assess their own perceptions and orientations in relationship to major public issues and problems. It also is suggested that more attention be given to the issue of governmental responsiveness and greater social equity. Similarly, greater attention must be given elitist tendencies in the public service profession.

Such shifts in public affairs education would not guarantee that government ultimately will become more responsive to citizen needs. Nor does decentralization guarantee responsiveness. When combined, however, they paint a picture of hope during times of great despair. We must begin to educate public administrators with the expectation that greater decentralization-citizen participation is both desirable and inevitable. Regardless of what may follow, we will likely have produced more able, committed, responsive, and humanistic administrators and public employees. In the final analysis, this may be what citizen participation is all about.

References

Perspectives on American Bureaucracy and Society

1. Edward C. Banfield, *Political Influence* (New York: Free Press, 1961).
2. Raymond A. Bauer, *et al.*, *Second Order Consequences: A Methodological Essay on the Impact of Technology* (Cambridge, Mass.: The M.I.T. Press, 1969).
3. Warren Bennis and Philip E. Slater, *The Temporary Society* (New York: Harper and Row, 1968).
4. Kenneth Blanchard and Paul Hersey, *Management of Organizational Behavior* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1969).
5. Frances R. Cousens, *Public Civil Rights and Fair Employment: Promise vs. Performance* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1969).
6. Michael Crozier, *The Bureaucratic Phenomenon* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964).
7. Ishwar Dayal, "Some Dilemmas in Newer Concepts of Administration," *California Management Review*, Vol. XIII, No. 1 (Fall 1970), pp. 51-58.
8. Mathew P. Dumont, "The Changing Face of Professionalism," *Social Policy* (May/June 1970), pp. 26-31.
9. Jacques Ellul, *The Technological Society* (New York: Vintage Books, 1964).
10. Victor C. Ferkiss, *Technological Man: The Myth and the Reality* (New York: George Braziller, 1969).
11. James Fesler, *Area and Administration* (University, Ala.: University of Alabama Press, 1949).
12. Thomas A. Flinn and Carl Stokes, *Local Government and Politics: Analyzing Decision-Making Systems* (Glenview, Ill.: Scott, Foresman and Co., 1970).
13. H. George Frederickson, "Recovery of Structure in

Public Administration," Pamphlet No. 5 (Washington, D. C.: Center for Governmental Studies, 1970).

14. ____________, "Toward a New Public Administration," in Frank Marini (ed.), *Toward a New Public Administration* (Scranton: Chandler, 1971), pp. 309-331.

15. John K. Galbraith, *The New Industrial State* (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1967).

16. Howard W. Hallman, "Administrative Decentralization and Citizen Control," Pamphlet No. 7 (Washington, D. C.: Center for Governmental Studies, 1971).

17. David R. Hampton, *Organizational Behavior and the Practice of Management* (Glenview, Ill.: Scott, Foresman and Co., 1968).

18. Michael Mont Harmon, "Administrative Policy Formulation and the Public Interest," *Public Administration Review*, Vol. XXIX, No. 5 (September/October 1969), pp. 483-491.

19. Michael Harrington, *The Accidental Century* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, Inc., 1967).

20. Mark A. Haskell, *The New Careers Concept: Potential for Public Employment of the Poor* (New York: Praeger, 1969).

21. Adam W. Herbert, *Municipal Charter Reform: The Los Angeles Experience From a Minority Group Perspective*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh, 1971).

22. Everette C. Hughes, *Men and Their Work* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1958).

23. Floyd H. Hyde, "Government—Master or Servant of the People?" *Western City Magazine*, Vol. XLVII, No. 9 (September 1971), pp. 19-24.

24. Thomas L. Jacobs, "Positive Action for Improved City Management," *Nation's Cities*, Vol. 8, No. 11 (November 1970), pp. 14-17.

25. Mark E. Keane, "City Hall's Management Challenger," *Nation's Cities*, Vol. 8, No. 6 (June 1970), pp. 24-30.

26. Wilma R. Krauss, "Toward a Theory of Political Participation of Public Bureaucrats," *Administrative Science Quarterly*, Vol. 16, No. 2 (June 1971), pp. 180-191.

27. Todd R. LaPorte, "The Context of Technology Assessment: A Changing Perspective for Public Organization," *Public Administration Review*, Vol. XXXI, No. 1 (January/February 1971), pp. 63-74.

28. James A. McCann, "Is City Hall Getting the Job Done?" *Nation's Cities*, Vol. 8, No. 11 (November 1970), pp. 26-28.

29. Marvin Meade, " 'Participative' Administration—Emerging Reality or Wishful Thinking?" in Dwight Waldo (ed.), *Public Administration in a Time of Turbulence* (Scranton: Chandler, 1971), pp. 169-187.

30. Raymond E. Miles and J. B. Ritchie, "Participative Management: Quality or Quantity," *California Management Review*, Vol. XIII, No. 4 (Summer 1971), pp. 48-56.

31. Frederick C. Mosher, "The Public Service in the Temporary Society," *Public Administration Review*, Vol. XXXI, No. 1 (January/February 1971), pp. 47-62.

32. Frederick P. Mosher, *Democracy in the Public Service* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968).

33. Felix A. Nigro, "The Implications for Public Administration," *Public Administration Review*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 2 (March/April 1968), pp. 137-147.

34. Marvin E. Olsen, "Social and Political Participation of Blacks," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 35, No. 4 (August 1970), pp. 682-696.

35. Michael Parenti, "Power and Pluralism: A View From the Bottom," *Journal of Politics*, Vol. 32, No. 3 (August 1970), pp. 501-530.

36. John M. Pfiffner and Frank P. Sherwood, *Administrative Organization* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1960).

37. Richard M. Pious, "Policy and Public Administration: The Legal Services Program in the War on Poverty," *Politics and Society*, Vol. 1, No. 3 (May 1971), pp. 365-392.

38. H. G. Poe, "What's Ahead for Local Government Structure," *Public Management*, Vol. 53, No. 7 (July 1971), pp. 28-30.

39. Rollin B. Posey, "The New Militancy of Public Employees," *Public Administration Review*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 2 (March/April 1968), pp. 111-117.

40. Emmette S. Redford, *Democracy in the Administrative State* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969).

41. Charles A. Reich, *The Greening of America* (New York: Random House, 1970).

42. Ned A. Rosen and Gustave Serino, "The Impact of Employee Selection Practices in Three Local Governments on Potential Black Personnel," *Public Personnel Review*, Vol. XXXII, No. 3 (July 1971), pp. 164-168.

43. David H. Rosenbloom, "Citizenship Rights and Civil Service: Old Issue in New Phrase," *Public Personnel Review*, Vol. XXXI, No. 3 (July 1, 1970), pp. 180-184.

44. ____________, "Some Political Implications of the Drift Toward a Liberation of Federal Employees," *Public Administration Review*, Vol. XXXI, No. 4 (July/August 1971), pp. 420-426.

45. Theodore Roszak, *The Making of a Counterculture* (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books, 1969).

46. William G. Scott, "Organization Government: The Prospects for a Truly Participative System," *Public Administration Review*, Vol. XXIX, No. 1 (January/February 1969), pp. 43-53.

47. Peter Self, "Elected Representatives and Management in Local Government: An Alternative Analysis," *Public Administration*, Vol. 49 (Autumn 1971), pp. 269-277.

48. Peter Selznick, *TVA and the Grass Roots* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1949).

49. Gideon Stoberg, Richard A. Brymer, and Buford Farris, "Bureaucracy and the Lower Class," *Sociology and Social Research* (April 1966), pp. 325-337.

50. B. C. Smith and J. Stanyer, "Administrative Developments in 1969: A Survey," *Public Administration*, Vol. 48 (Autumn 1970).

51. William C. Thomas and Herman E. Hilleboe, "Administrative Centralization versus Decentralization and the Roles of Generalists and Specialists," *American Journal of Public Health*, Vol. 58

(September 1968), pp. 1620-1632.

52. Alvin Toffler, *Future Shock* (New York: Random House, 1970).
53. Dwight Waldo, "Development of the Theory of Democratic Administration." *American Political Science Review*, Vol. XLVI (March 1952).
54. Dwight Waldo (ed.), *Public Administration in a Time of Turbulence* (Scranton: Chandler, 1971).
55. Robert E. Walsh, *Sorry . . . No Government Today: Unions vs. City Hall* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1969).
56. James A. Wechsler, "Civil War in New York," *Progressive*, Vol. 33 (January 1969), pp. 20-30.
57. Orion F. White, Jr., "Organization and Administration for New Technological and Social Imperatives," in Dwight Waldo (ed.), *Public Administration in a Time of Turbulence* (Scranton: Chandler, 1971), pp. 151-168.
58. ———, "The Dialectical Organization: An Alternative to Bureaucracy," *Public Administration Review*, Vol. XXIX, No. 1 (January/February 1969), pp. 32-42.
59. Herbert G. Wilcox, "Hierarchy, Human Nature, and the Participative Panacea," *Public Administration Review*, Vol. XXIX, No. 1 (January/February 1969), pp. 53-66.
60. James Q. Wilson and Edward C. Banfield, "Public Regardingness as a Value Premise in Voting Behavior," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. LVIII, No. 4 (December 1964), pp. 876-887.
61. William Winter, *The Urban Policy* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1969).
62. Raymond E. Wolfinger and John Osgood Field, "Political Ethos and the Structure of City Government," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. LX, No. 2 (June 1966), pp. 306-326.

Readings on Participatory Democracy and Administration

63. Robert A. Aleshire, "Organizing for Neighborhood Management: Drawing on the Federal Experience," *Public Management*, Vol. 53, No. 1 (January 1971), pp. 7-9.
64. Alan Altshuler, *Community Control* (New York: Pegasus, 1970).
65. Chris Argyris, *Understanding Organizational Behavior* (Homewood, Ill.: The Dorsey Press, 1960).
66. Sherry R. Arnstein, "A Ladder of Participation," *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, Vol. 35 (July 1969), pp. 216-224.
67. Stanley Aronowitz, "The Dialetics of Community Control," *Social Policy* (May/June 1970), pp. 47-51.
68. Betram Belk, "Community Control: A Distraction Not An Answer," *Social Work*, Vol. 14 (October 1969), pp. 14-20.
69. Charles M. Bonjean and Michael D. Grimes, "Bureaucracy and Alienation: A Dimensional Approach," *Social Forces*, Vol. 43, No. 3 (March 1970), pp. 365-372.
70. George A. Brager and Valerie Jorris, "Bargaining: A Method of Community Charge,"*Social Work*, Vol. 14 (October 1969), pp. 73-83.
71. Stanley J. Brody, "Maximum Participation of the Poor: Another Holy Grail?" *Social Work*, Vol. 15, No. 1 (January 1970).
72. Barlow Burke Jr., "The Threat to Citizen Participation in Model Cities," *Cornell Law Review*, Vol. 56, No. 5 (May 1971), pp. 751-779.
73. ——— "Urban Public Policy Participation Network," *Urban and Social Change Review*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (Spring 1970), pp. 15-19.
74. Edmund M. Burke, "Citizen Participation Strategies," *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, Vol. 34 (September 1968), pp. 287-294.
75. O.A. Davis and K.O. Kortanck, "Centralization and Decentralization: The Political Economy of Public School Systems," *American Economic Review*, Vol. LXI, No. 2 (May 1971), pp. 456-462.
76. John C. Donovan, *The Politics of Poverty* (New York: Pegasus, 1967).
77. Sumati N. Dubey, "Community Action Programs and Citizen Participation: Issues and Confusions," *Social Work*, Vol. 15, No. 1 (January 1970), pp. 76-84.
78. Peter K. Eisenger, "Control Sharing in the City," *American Behavioral Scientist*, Vol. 15, No. 1 (September/October 1971), pp. 36-51.
79. Jason Epstein, "The Politics of Black Separatism," *Current*, No. 98 (August 1968), pp. 26-32.
80. John L. Erlich and John E. Tropman, "The Politics of Participation: Student Power," *Social Work*, Vol. 14 (October 1969), pp. 64-72.
81. Suzanne Farkas, "The Federal Role in Urban Decentralization," *American Behavioral Scientist*, Vol. 15, No. 1 (September/October 1971), pp. 15-35.
82. Richard Flacks, "On the Uses of Participatory Democracy," *Dissent*, Vol. 13 (November/December 1966), pp. 701-708.
83. E. Freedman, "Citizen Participation: A Training Tool for Leadership," *Public Management* Vol. 51, No. 7 (July 1969).
84. H. Paul Friesema, "Black Control of Central Cities: The Hollow Prize," *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, Vol. XXXV (March 1969), pp. 75-79.
85. James P. Gannon, "Tough Teachers: Decentralization Clash in New York Underlines School Union's Militancy," *Wall Street Journal* (December 20, 1968).
86. Herbert J. Gans, "Toward the Equality Revolution," *Current*, No. 102, December 1968, pp. 6-14.
87. Marilyn Gittell, *Participants and Participation* (New York: Praeger, 1968).
88. ———, and Alan G. Heuesi (eds.), *The Politics of Urban Education* (New York: Praeger, 1969).
89. ———, "Urban School Politics: Professionalism vs. Reform," *Journal of Social Issues*, Vol. XXVI, No. 3 (Summer 1970), pp. 69-84.
90. Nathan Glaser, "For White and Black, Community Control is the Issue," *The New York Times Magazine*, April 27, 1969, pp. 36ff.
91. William R. Grant, "Community Control vs. School Integration – The Case of Detroit," *The Public Interest*, No. 24 (Summer 1971), pp. 62-79.
92. Donald Haider, "The Political Economy of Decentralization,"*American Behavioral Scientist*, Vol. 15, No. 1 (September/October 1971), pp. 108-129.

93. Howard W. Hallman *Community Corporations and Neighborhood Control: Case Studies of Community Corporations and Neighborhood Boards* (New York: Praeger, 1970).

94. ———, "Guidelines for Neighborhood Management." *Public Management*, Vol. 53, No. 1 (January 1971), pp. 3-6.

95. Herbert H. Hyman, "Planning Via Citizens: Two Styles," *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, Vol. 35 (March 1969), pp. 105-112.

96. Richard Karp, "School Decentralization in New York: A Case Study," *Interplay* (August/September 1968), pp. 9-14.

97. Herbert Kaufman, "Administration, Decentralization, and Political Power," *Public Administration Review*, Vol. XXIX, No. 1 (January/February 1969), pp. 3-15.

98. Alexander Klein, "Toward Participatory Citizenship," *Current*, No. 121 (September 1970), pp. 3-11.

99. Milton Kotler, *Neighborhood Government: The Local Foundations of Political Life* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1969).

100. Ralph M. Kramer, *Participation of the Poor* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1969).

101. Irving Kristol, "The End of Liberalism?" *Current*, No. 103 (January 1969), pp. 6-15.

102. ———, "Decentralization for What?" *Public Interest*, No. 11 (Spring 1968), pp. 17-25.

103. Michael Lipsky, "Street-Level Bureaucracy and the Analysis of Urban Reform," *Urban Affairs Quarterly*, Vol. 6, No. 4 (June 1971), pp. 391-409.

104. Rensis Likert, *New Patterns of Management* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1961).

105. John D. C. Little, *et al.*, "Citizen Feedlock System: The Puerto Rico Model," *National Civic Review*, Vol. 60, No. 4 (April 1971), pp. 191-198 and 203.

106. Edward R. Lowenstein, "Citizen Participation and The Administrative Agency in Urban Development: Some Problems and Proposals," *The Social Service Review*, Vol. 45, No. 3 (September 1971), pp. 289-301.

107. Theodore Lowi, "The Public Philosophy: Interest Group Liberalism," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. LXI (March 1967), pp. 4-24.

108. Ritchie P. Lowry, "Power to the People — Political Evolution or Revolution," *Urban and Social Change Review*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (Spring 1970), pp. 2-6.

109. Staughton Lynd, "The New Radicals and 'Participatory Democracy,'" *Dissent*, Vol. XII (Summer 1965), pp. 324-333.

110. Douglas McGregor, *The Human Side of Enterprise* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1960).

111. Dale Rogers Marshall, "Public Participation and the Politics of Poverty," in Peter Orleans and William R. Ellis, Jr. (eds.), *Race, Change and Urban Society*, Urban Affairs Annual Review, No. 5 (Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1971), pp. 451-482.

112. V. Mathews, "Citizen Participation; An Analytical Study of the Literature," (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, Community Relations Service, June 1968).

113. Lester W. Milbrath, *Political Participation: How and Why Do People Get Involved in Politics* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1965).

114. S. M. Miller, and Martin Rein, "Participation, Poverty, and Administration," *Public Administration Review*, Vol. XXIX, No. 1 (January/February 1969), pp. 15-25.

115. Melvin B. Mogulof, "Citizen Participation: A Review and Commentary on Federal Policies and Practices" (Washington, D. C.: The Urban Institute, 1970), mimeo.

116. ———, "Coalition to Adversary: Citizen Participation in Three Federal Programs," *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, Vol. 35 (July 1969), pp. 225-232.

117. Daniel P. Moynihan, *Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding* (New York: Free Press, 1969).

118. Carol Pateman, *Participation and Democratic Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970).

119. Paul E. Peterson, "Forms of Representation: Participation of the Poor in the Community Action Program," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. LXIV, No. 2 (June 1970), pp. 491-507.

120. Frank Riessman and Alan Cartner, "Community Control and Radical Social Change," *Social Policy* (May/June 1970), pp. 52-55.

121. Wallace Roberts, "The Battle for Urban Schools," *Saturday Review* (November 16, 1968), pp. 97-99, 117.

122. William Ryan, *Blaming the Victim* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1971).

123. William G. Scott, "Organization Government: Prospects for a Truly Participative System," *Public Administration Review*, Vol. XXIX, No. 1, (January/February 1969), pp. 43-53.

124. Henry Schmandt, "Decentralization: A Structural Imperative," (Washington, D. C.: Center for Governmental Studies), mimeo.

125. David H. Smith and Richard F. McGrail, "Community Control of Schools: A Review of Issues and Option," *Urban and Social Change Review*, Vol. 3 (Fall 1969), pp. 2-9.

126. Michael P. Smith, "Self-Fulfillment in a Bureaucratic Society: A Commentary on the Thought of Gabriel Marcel," *Public Administration Review*, Vol. XXIX, No. 1 (January/February 1969), pp. 25-32.

127. Hans Spiegel, *Citizen Participation in Urban Development: Concepts and Issues*, Vol. 1 (Washington, D.C.: NTL Institute for Applied Behavioral Science, 1968).

128. James Turner, "Blacks in the Cities: Land and Self Determination," *The Black Scholar*, Vol. I (April 1970), pp. 9-13.

129. Jon Van Til and Sally Bould Van Til, "Citizen Participation in Social Policy: The End of the Cycle," *Social Problems*, Vol. 17, No. 3 (Winter 1970), pp. 313-323.

130. ——, and ——, "Citizen Participation in Social Policy: The End of the Cycle?" *Social Problems*, Vol. 17, No. 3 (Winter 1970), pp. 313-323.

131. Herbert G. Wilcox "Hierarchy, Human Nature, and the Participative Panacea," *Public Administration*

Review, Vol. XXIX, No. 1 (January/February 1969), pp. 53-63.

132. Charles E. Wilson, "Year One at I. S. 201," *Social Policy* (May/June 1970), pp. 10-17.

133. George D. Younger, "Education Crisis: New York Style," *Christianity and Crisis*, Vol. 28 (December 23, 1968), pp. 312-317.

134. Louis A. Zurcher, Jr., "The Poverty Boards: Some Consequences of Maximum Feasible Participation," *Journal of Social Issues*, Vol. XXVI, No. 3 (Summer 1970).

The New Public Administration

135. Robert A. Biller, "Some Implications of Adaptation Capacity for Organizational and Political Development," in Frank Marini (ed.), *Toward A New Administration: The Minnowbrook Perspective* (Scranton: Chandler Publishing Co, 1971), pp. 93-121.

136. ———, "The Changing Political Context of Urban Administration," *Public Management*, Vol. 53, No. 11 (November 1971), pp. 5-8.

137. Stephen R. Chitwood and Michael M. Harmon, "New Public Administration, Humanism, and Organizational Behavior," *Public Management*, Vol. 53, No. 11 (November 1971), pp. 9-12.

138. Ross Clayton and Ron Gilbert, "Perspectives of Public Managers: Their Implications for Public Service Delivery Systems," *Public Management*, Vol. 53, No. 11 (November 1971), pp. 9-12.

139. Matthew A. Crenson, Comment: "Contract, Love, and Character Building," in Frank Marini (ed.), *Toward A New Public Administration: The Minnowbrook Perspective* (Scranton: Chandler Publishing Co., 1971), pp. 83-89.

140. H. George Frederickson, "Creating Tomorrow's Public Administration," *Public Management*, Vol. 53, No. 11 (November 1971), pp. 2-4.

141. ———, "Tommorow's Organization: What Does It Mean To Public Administration?" *Public Management*, Vol. 53, No. 7 (July 1971), pp. 22-25.

142. Michael M. Harmon, "Normative Theory and Public Administration: Some Suggestions for a Redefinition of Administrative Responsibility," in Frank Marini (ed.), *Toward A New Public Administration: The Minnowbrook Perspective* (Scranton: Chandler Publishing Co., 1971), pp. 172-185.

143. Larry Kirkhart, "Toward a Theory of Public Administration," in Frank Marini (ed.), *Toward A New Public Administration: The Minnowbrook Perspective* (Scranton: Chandler Publishing Co., 1971), pp. 127-164.

144. Todd R. La Porte, "The Recovery of Relevance in the Study of Public Organization," in Frank Marini (ed.), *Toward A New Public Administration: The Minnowbrook Perspective* (Scranton: Chandler Publishing Co., 1971), pp. 17-48.

145. Frank Marini (ed.), *Toward A New Public Administration: The Minnowbrook Perspective* (Scranton: Chandler Publishing Co., 1971).

146. Carleton Sharpe, "Reaction to the New Public Administration," *Public Management*, Vol. 53, No. 11 (November 1971), pp. 14-15.

147. William B. Storm, "Normative Possibilities for Tomorrow's Public Administration," paper presented at the National Conference of the American Society for Public Administration, Denver, Colorado, April 1971.

148. Dwight Waldo, "Public Administration in a Time of Revolution," *Public Administration Review*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 4, (July/August 1968), pp. 362-368.

149. Orion F. White, Jr., "Social Change and Administration Adaptation," in Frank Marini (ed.), *Toward A New Administration: The Minnowbrook Perspective* (Scranton: Chandler Publishing Co., 1971), pp. 59-83.

150 . Robert F. Wilcox "The New Public Administration: Have Things Really Changed That Much?" *Public Management*, Vol. 53, No. 5 (May 1971) pp. 25-28.

Symposia on Management and Participation (1968-71)

151. "Urban Decentralization and Community Participation," *American Behavioral Scientist*, Vol. 15, No. 1 (September/October 1971).

152. "Alienation, Decentralization, and Participation," *Public Administration Review*, Vol. XXIX, No. 1 (January/February 1969).

153. "Participatory Democracy," *The Urban and Social Change Review*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (Spring 1970).

154. "Neighborhood Management," *Public Management*, Vol. 53, No. 1 (January 1971).

155. "Community Control of Schools," *The Urban and Social Change Review*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (Fall 1969).

156. "The New P. A.," *Public Management*, Vol. 53, No. 11 (November 1971).

157. "The American City Manager: An Urban Administrator in a Complex and Evolving Situation," *Public Administration Review*, Vol. XXXI, No. 1 (January/February 1971).

158. "Management Trends," *Public Management*, Vol. 53, No. 3 (March 1971).

159. "Does Structure Count?" *Public Management*, Vol. 53, No. 7 (July 1971).

160. "Local Government Careers—Keeping the Options Open," *Public Management*, Vol. 53, No. 5 (May 1971).

161. Collective Negotiations in the Public Service," *Public Administration Review*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 2 (March/April 1968).

162. "Towards an International Civil Service," *Public Administration Review*, Vol. XXX, No. 3 (May/June 1970).

163. "Collective Negotiations in the Public Service," *Public Administration Review*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 2 (March/April 1968).

164. "Collective Bargaining in the Public Service: A Reappraisal," *Public Administration Review*, Vol. XXXII, No. 2 (March/April 1972).

165. "Neighborhoods and Citizen Involvement," *Public Administration Review*," Vol. XXXII, No. 3 (May/June 1972).

166. "Citizens Action in Model Cities and CAP Programs: Case Studies and Evaluation," *Public Administration Review*, Vol. XXXII, Special Issue (September 1972).

10. Would you agree that Herbert places most of his emphasis on interpersonal relationships and human relationships rather than efficiency and economy? Do you agree that human relationships are the most important objectives of government or do you disagree? Explain your answers.

11. Can you describe, briefly, how the New Public Administration differs from the old? What impact does that have on our concern for participation?

12. Study Herbert's three categories of managerial implications, i.e., for Socio-Emotional Process, Integrative Process, or Boundary-Exchange Process, and his "benefit/cost" projections. Re-do one projection in your own words. Add to it if you can.

13. List and briefly describe in your own words the nine skills necessary for an administrator in a decentralized government operation.

14. Suggest where attention or additional emphasis should be given in the training of future administrators in schools of public administration.

FOOTNOTES

1. Adam Herbert, "Management Under Conditions of Decentralization and Citizen Participation," Public Administration Review Special Issue, October 1972, p. 623.

2. Robert G. Healy, Land Use and the States (Baltimore, MD., Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976), Chapter 6. (Healy's ideas are applied in a somewhat different context.)

ASSIGNMENT

The following questions should be answered as completely as possible on separate paper. Two copies of your responses should be mailed to the instructor. One copy will be returned to you with the instructor's comments and the other will be retained as part of your course record.

1. *Assume the establishment of a new town in the United States, one of about 100,000 planned population. In many respects this new community may resemble Columbia, Maryland, or Reston, Virginia. The developers of the new town desire that government in this new municipality be decentralized and that individuals residing in the town have a voice in determining the future of the community. You are called in as a consultant and asked to recommend:*

   a. *The structure of municipal government which will meet criteria for decentralization and participation.*

   b. *The form and means of organizing responsible citizens' groups in the community.*

   c. *Guidelines and criteria for decentralization and participation.*

   d. *Indicators which will offer some measure of the effectiveness of citizen participation in the new town.*

   As a consultant, you should prepare a report (approximately 10 typewritten pages) which addresses these issues and which recommends a process for the developers to follow to achieve their objectives.

   - *Use an outline form whenever possible to cram adequate information into your report.*
   - *You should take a page or two to provide some assumptions which you are making regarding the new town.*
   - *Relate your recommendations to the information in the ten modules of the course as far as relavant. On the other hand, do not hesitate to be original.*

(SEE THE FOLLOWING PAGE.)

REPORTS WILL BE JUDGED ON THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

- CLEAR INDICATION THAT INFORMATION FROM ALL TEN MODULES HAS BEEN ASSIMILATED;
- APPROPRIATE SOLUTIONS TO THE PROBLEM;
- INTERNAL LOGIC AND CONSISTENCY;
- CREATIVE AND ORIGINAL IDEAS;
- CAREFULLY WRITTEN AND PRESENTED REPORT;

ONE-THIRD OF THE GRADE FOR THE COURSE WILL REST UPON THIS REPORT; AND TWO-THIRDS FOR ALL OTHER REQUIRED SUBMISSIONS OF MODULE ASSIGNMENTS.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

See bibliography attached to Adam Herbert's article, "Management Under Conditions of Decentralization and Citizen Participation," pp. 633-637 in original (pp. 10.28-10.32 in this module).

NOTE ESPECIALLY: Frank Marini (ed.), Toward a New Administration: The Minnowbrook Perspective, Scranton, PA., Chandler, 1971, and the listings under "Symposia on Management and Participation (1968-1971)."